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Memoirs of her late majesty, queen Caroline

Joseph Nightingale

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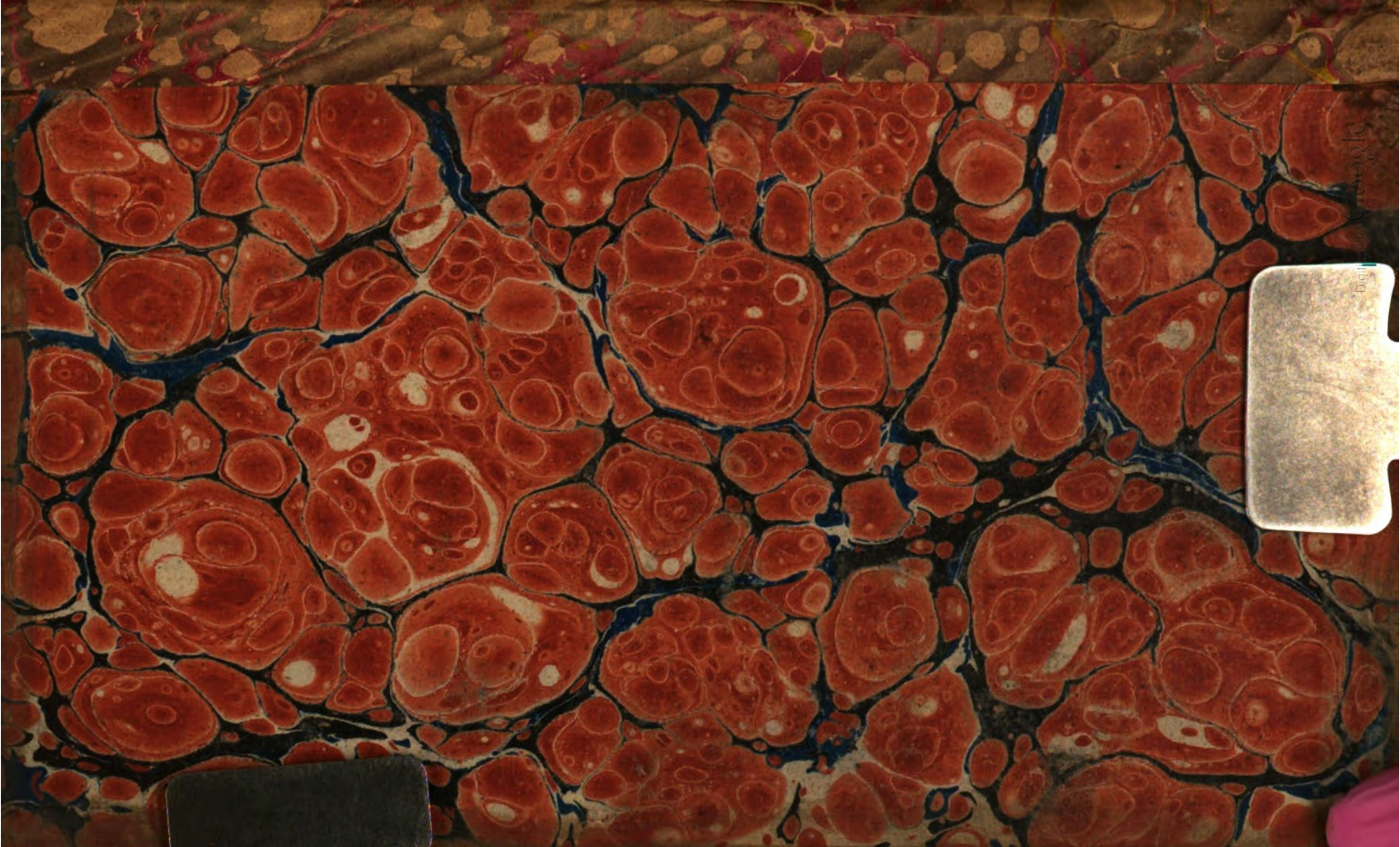

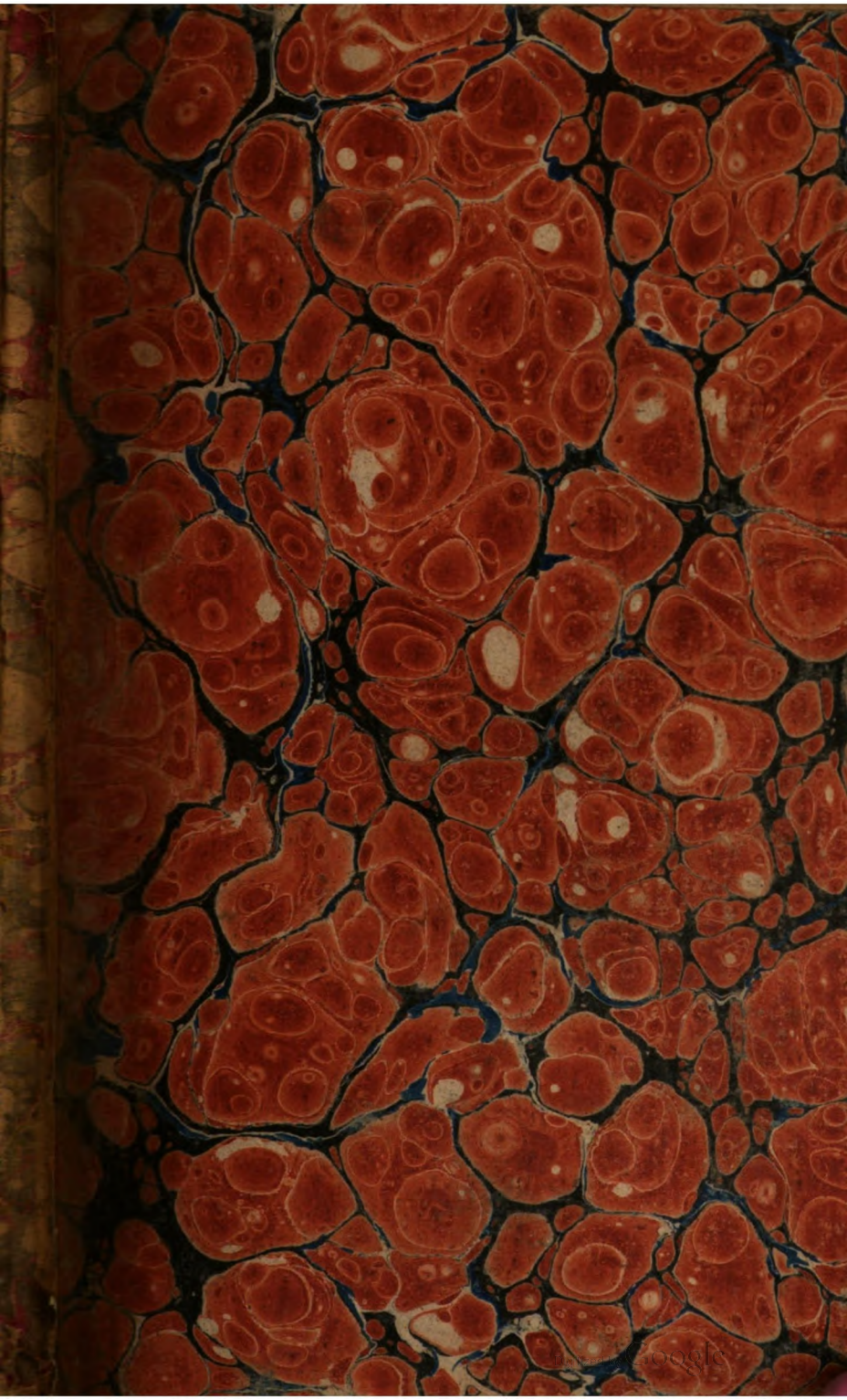

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Her late Majesty,

QUEEN CAROLINE.

Published by J. Robins & Co. Ivy Lane London, August 18th 1821

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MEMOIRS
OF
Queen Caroline.
By
A Nightingale!

Queen Caroline landing at Dover.

LONDON.
J. ROBINS & Co. *Albion Press.*
1820.

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MEMOIRS

OF

HER LATE MAJESTY,

QUEEN CAROLINE,

Consort of King George the Fourth.

BY J. NIGHTINGALE,

One of the Authors of "the Beauties of England and Wales," &c. &c.

The world had never taken so full note
Of what thou art, hadst thou not been undone;
And only thy affliction hath begot
More fame than thy best fortunes could have done:
For ever by adversity are wrought,
The greatest works of admiration;
And all the fair examples of renown,
Out of distress and misery are grown.

DANIEL, *on Wriothesly Earl of Southampton.*

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1821.

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INTRODUCTION.

THAT it should be thought useful and interesting to publish Memoirs of a Sovereign, whose reign lasted only a few months; who, in fact, never was crowned, and who was not known amongst us more than five or six and twenty years, is a circumstance that necessarily supposes something of more than ordinary interest in the events of that Sovereign's life and character. Such, however, is the case in the instance now before us.

The life of the late Queen, in a public point of view, was marked by events and circumstances fraught with the deepest interest, at one time threatening to involve consequences of the highest importance, not only to her own future welfare, but also to the happiness, the honour, and the internal and external tranquillity of these realms. But the hand of death suddenly arrested the progress of these portentous anticipations, and allayed, for a time at least, the fermentation which the almost ceaseless persecutions of the Queen were so fearfully calculated to produce.

From the moment in which it was first contemplated, that a foreign Princess of the house of Brunswick should form a matrimonial alliance with the heir-apparent of King George III., every thing that concerned the two royal personages became matter of deep importance to the government and people of Great Britain.

Happily for our liberties as Englishmen, we are not placed at such an immeasurable distance from the Monarch who, in the course of Divine Providence, may be raised to the Throne, but that we feel a paramount interest in all that the Monarch may himself deem essen-

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tial to his own honour and happiness. Ours is a mixed, not a divided government, compounded of three estates, but leading to one end; the movements of each, by an approximation which nothing can disunite but what would destroy the general form and texture of the whole, affect every part. By a kind of reversed climax, formed in a period less enlightened and less happy than the present, and now continued in the spirit of courtesy, we say the British Constitution is composed of King, Lords, and Commons; but we do not, therefore, infer, that the King reigns or acts independent of the Lords, from whom are selected his responsible advisers; nor that those advisers hold their high trusts wholly apart from the general or the individual interests of the Commons, who are the representatives of the whole nation or people.

We all live and act, or ought to do so, as by one social compact; as one great family, bound by one great charter for the general good of all; but if there is an individual more limited in regard to his public, and, in many respects, even as to his private actions, than another, that individual is the King.

If this principle of union has in any case been infringed, it has been invaded in direct opposition to the letter and spirit of the Constitution itself; which, in its present state, knows nothing of the old maxim of *jure divino*. I speak of the government of this country as it really is in itself; and not what either the corrupt influence of some mistaken governors, or the enthusiastic reveries of a democratical spirit, may have attempted to make it.

Let it not, however, be hence inferred, that because I thus speak, I am supposing that any inroads of magnitude have in fact been made on our excellent Constitution. I allude to the nature of that Constitution merely to justify the proceedings of those individuals, of whatever rank in the state, who may take a public part in whatever concerns the great affairs of the King or Queen, who reign by their choice, and for their benefit.

This doctrine has a peculiar applicability to the house

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of Brunswick. The principles that raised the family of that illustrious house to the throne of this kingdom, are those only by which they can hope to maintain that high station; and it is grateful to know, that we have a King who can appreciate those principles, who recognises their authority, and has manifested an interest in their preservation. He imbibed them with the milk of his mother—they were fostered by the example of his virtuous father—they were strengthened by his earliest associates—and matured by years of experience. Never have these principles, in the most remote degree, been overlooked or misunderstood, but the backsliding has been checked by the public voice, and the error restrained by an instantaneous threat of irremediable danger to those from whom such aberrations have emanated.

To preserve these principles of rational liberty from danger, the Revolution of 1688 provided the most just and wholesome laws, not indeed as regarded the Protestant succession, but with a view to every branch of our civil polity; and our union with the house of Brunswick appeared eminently calculated to strengthen and cement every sentiment of freedom that could best promote the happiness of the community at large.

The marriages of the apparent or the presumptive heirs to the Crown have, ever since that period, been watched with a most jealous and scrutinizing eye by the public; and, for the most part, they have been negotiated and solemnized in perfect unison with the popular feeling. Hence, whatever has, at any time, worn the appearance of laxity in regard to the public duties attached to royal marriages, so sanctioned by the voice of the nation, has never failed to rouse the public indignation. The people have no means of controling personal dislikes or individual antipathies, nor of preventing those domestic animosities which such feelings naturally engender within the walls of a palace, as well as amongst individuals of humbler rank; but they never will patiently submit to witness what they may deem an infringement of public

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decorum, and still less will they witness, unconcerned, what has the appearance of tyranny and injustice, especially when such conduct is directed against the honour and the reputation of a female of the Royal Family.

Queens of England are, by right, just as much entitled to the loyalty and affection of the people as Kings, and it is impossible that any indignity should be offered, either apparently or in reality, without bringing into action every loyal feeling of indignation, and exciting the warmest sentiments of sympathy and regard, accompanied with the most determined resolution to offer every protection which the laws of the land, and the affections of the people, can afford.

Englishmen, however, are not so romantically gallant towards their Queens as to forget their allegiance to their Kings; and we have not wanted instances in which they have manifested fully as much indignation against the former as attachment for the latter. The same generous spirit which would prompt them to defend the insulted innocence of the one, would also urge them, with equal ardour, to maintain the insulted honour of the other.

Thus it is, that, in respect to the subject which forms so prominent a feature of the ensuing work, two parties were formed in the country: the one professing to have a jealous regard for the honour and dignity of the King, and the other as warmly espousing the cause of the Queen, between whom, it is lamentable to observe, a most serious misunderstanding existed to the dying hour of the latter.

It were, however, insulting to the reader, and tending to mislead the future historian of England, who will, doubtless, have recourse to the publications of the present day, to assert that the King's party (I regret the necessity of the phrase) bore any moderate proportion, in point of numbers, to that of the Queen. From one end of the land to the other, there was scarcely any other cry heard but "The Cause of the Queen!" "The Rights of the beloved and injured Caroline!"

Can it, therefore, be a matter of surprise, that the

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public should most earnestly and eagerly inquire into the particulars of the Life of so illustrious a personage as her late Majesty, the Consort of King George IV.? the feeling is natural, the curiosity intense and irresistible: to gratify it, the Author of this work has availed himself of every possible means of information, public and private:—He has had opportunities of conversing with those who have been the witnesses of her Majesty's conduct; who have been so far in her confidence, as to obtain the means of appreciating her real character, as well as of acquiring a knowledge of numerous facts of her history. To these private sources of information he has added the closest attention to whatever authentic documents have been laid before the public.

There is an abundant sufficiency of truth in the events of the late Queen's chequered life, without calling in the aid of fiction, to give interest to a work such as is now offered to the public; and the reader may rest assured that no fact or circumstance, connected with the subject of these Memoirs, has transpired unrecorded, whilst the Author has carefully abstained from giving credence to those reports and rumours which have nothing to recommend them but their marvellous character; and nothing to engage the Reader's interest, but their forced and fabulous introduction into a subject pregnant with events of deep and serious import, not only to readers of the present day, but also to those who may hereafter have occasion to review the history of our country, during a period when almost every day brought to light circumstances of the greatest magnitude; when the destinies of nations appeared to hang upon a breath; and ancient dynasties were removed with almost as much facility and rapidity as, in ordinary times, men make an interchange of their respective landed possessions.

These Memoirs embrace a period of about fifty-three or four years; but the most interesting portion of that time is undoubtedly to be found in the last seven-and-twenty, when the illustrious and now deeply-lamented

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subject of them was first introduced to the particular notice of the people of England, by her unfortunate marriage with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, now King George IV. A single year had not elapsed, after that event had taken place, ere commenced that unhappy breach between the Royal pair which laid the foundation of a very considerable portion of the curious and interesting, though, for the most part, truly afflicting, circumstances recorded in the ensuing pages.

Charges of the most serious and awful nature were subsequently alleged against her Royal Highness; charges which went, not only to affect her honour, but her life; and though these were more than once unequivocally disproved, a stain was attempted to be left upon her character, as a person of loose conversation, and unwarrantable levity of manners; and this stigma was marked and exaggerated by the whisperers and retailers of scandal in a thousand forms, and with the most malignant asperity. It never occurred to the enemies of the illustrious Princess, that her education and early habits were, in many points, essentially different from those of their own; nor that, what in this country would be deemed a mark of great levity, would pass unnoticed, or as the effects of good breeding, on the Continent. No allowances of this nature appeared to have been made for her Royal Highness by her accusers. It will, therefore, form an early portion of the following work, to inquire into the history and character of the Court in which her Royal Highness was educated; and of those associations which laid the foundation of her future character; and moulded and fashioned her, not only, as Mr. Canning aptly expressed it, to be the life, grace, and honour of every society she chose to ennoble by her presence, but also to become that open, unpretending, unsuspecting character she actually was, and which was long the main cause of many of her numerous calamities.

After having delineated the principal features of the Court of the late Duke of Brunswick, and the influence

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which such an education and example were likely to have, in the formation of the young Princess's character, I shall proceed to notice some of the most remarkable, well authenticated anecdotes, of which her Royal Highness formed the subject, and which have a direct tendency to exhibit her real character in its true light.

The early pursuits and attachments of an amiable and virtuous female have in them always a considerable portion of interest; but it is seldom in the power of a third person to ascertain the exact truth of what is usually related concerning the transactions connected with those associations. I can honestly aver, however, that I have employed every means, and resorted to every possible source, to ascertain the truth of whatever is related in the ensuing Memoirs: more anxious to afford the reader valuable information than to acquire the reputation of a writer of romances, and the retailer of marvellous events, *merely* to gratify a vitiated taste and an inordinate curiosity. What is inserted in these Memoirs the reader, I believe, may rely upon as fact; and if he should not there find every extraordinary anecdote, or every minute story, related, which the dealers in scandal, or the admirers of the wonderful, have given birth to, and which the cupidity of certain lovers of these matters has sent forth into the world as undoubted events in the life of Queen Caroline, he may rest assured, that the cause is to be sought in the Author's determination to afford real information rather than fictitious wonders.

From the early history of the late Princess, I shall proceed to notice every event connected with her Royal Highness's alliance to this country; and shall then detail all those remarkable events which led to what has been emphatically called *The Delicate Investigation*, and produced that singular publication called "*The Book*," from which whatever is really worth noticing will be amply extracted and commented upon.

From that period to the time of her Royal Highness's departure from this country, sufficiently numerous were

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the events that took place to afford an interesting portion of the present volumes; and from thence, during her residence and travels abroad, the most ample materials are furnished to her biographer.

The return of her Majesty to England, and the legislative proceedings consequent thereupon, open a wide field for curious detail and investigation. The Bill of Degradation and Divorce, called "a Bill of Pains and Penalties," brought into the House of Peers, with its progress and result, afford topics of the highest interest to the empire.

When the determined enemies of the late Queen had completely failed in their object to degrade and dethrone her, and her innocence was again declared to the world by the failure of the obnoxious Bill of Pains and Penalties, a new system of persecution was resorted to; by the encouragement, if not even the actual employment, of a number of sordid and malignant public writers, to vilify, calumniate, and wound her Majesty's feelings and character, by every weapon which a corrupt and licentious press could wield; and the forging of every diabolical falsehood which the most depraved and fertile imagination could devise.

The details of this war of the press against Queen Caroline form a necessary though painful portion of this work; nor could the disgraceful measures pursued towards her, at the coronation of her Royal husband, but afford matter for much important observation.

Lastly comes the winding up of this deep and fearful tragedy—the triumph of malevolence—the completion of a system of persecution, as diabolical in its commencement as it was resolute in the pursuit of its object; and as fatal in its effects, if not as extensive in its immediate operations, as ever yet disgraced the annals of history:—The death of the Queen, who at length fell a sacrifice to the reiterated attacks of her foes, closed the already beclouded scene. The curtain dropped amidst the lamentations of every good man and woman in the country, whilst the

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Queen's enemies stood aghast, at the suddenness of the event, and as if disappointed that their prey had escaped from their grasp, ere their malignity had been satiated by the new mortifications which they had, as they imagined, provided for her Majesty, in the circumstance of her husband's parade through his dominions, flattered and fawned upon as "the earthly Lord of the Ocean," as they foolishly called him, whilst his insulted wife was deserted by almost every branch of her husband's family, and by the whole of his gaudy court.

The saint-like death, and the circumstances of her funeral obsequies, furnish matter for much solemn detail; and naturally conclude the present volumes.

In the delineation and discussion of these several important subjects, others intimately connected therewith will naturally fall within the scope of our observation. It would not be possible, with any degree of consistency or propriety, to lay before the public the Life of the late Queen, without dwelling with considerable interest on that of her most excellent, and universally beloved, and lamented daughter, her late ROYAL HIGHNESS, CHARLOTTE, PRINCESS OF SAXE COBURG, a Princess, the period of whose short existence in this transitory state of being was early marked by anxieties of no ordinary character; whose enjoyments were greatly imbittered by the domestic distresses of her Royal Mother, from the society of whom she was, during a very great portion of her life, entirely excluded, by an authority which, at no period, she could, with propriety, control or disobey.

Indeed, the afflictions of the Queen, and those of her child, were as mutual and as sympathetical as their affections were reciprocal: never parent loved a child with greater paternal affection, nor did ever child manifest, on all possible occasions, a more ardent and sincere filial regard for a parent; pity it was, that so much goodness, and so much duty, should have been robbed of those sweets, and of those tender personal endearments, which are the fruits and rewards of virtues like these! But who can fathom the depths of Providence? Who can

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discover the mysterious designs of Eternal Wisdom? Or will dare to contend with Him "who is perfect in knowledge?" Had the amiable but undaunted spirit of CHARLOTTE continued to animate her once beauteous form; had she lived to have witnessed the return of her self-expatriated Mother;—had she heard her earnest and repeated appeals to the justice of the laws—her claims, at least, to the common rights of Royal hospitality—Had she seen her driven, in a manner, for shelter to the dwelling of a plain city merchant, after having been denied a place of residence suited to her exalted station—Had she lived to have heard it a point to be mooted, not by lawyers only; but by others less accustomed to consider every topic as a question of legal argumentation, whether or not her affectionate Parent had acted with propriety in once more demanding to be treated as an innocent person till her guilt had been demonstrated—Had she heard the sentence of acquittal; yet lived to see the continuation of punishment—Had she, finally, been here, to have closed the eyes of her adored mother, at a time when she was deserted by every other relation—Had, I say, that intrepid and virtuous Princess been living to have heard and seen all this, it is impossible to conceive what might have been the consequence. That she would not have beheld and known these facts and circumstances with unconcern, or have remained a passive observer of so much degradation and insult, those who knew the nobility of her soul—the inflexibility of her love of justice—the warmth of her filial affection, will readily admit.

If, therefore, during the life-time of the late Queen, it was deemed of importance to publish biographical details of her history, how much more proper and expedient is it, now that she is no more, to lay before the world the narrative of her most eventful life! And, oh! what a scene of suffering—what a picture of oppression—is here exhibited. A princess, born of a race glorious in history, and renowned in the annals of Europe for deeds of arms, and the high spirit of its illustrious members, is raised to the highest station to which a British female can be

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exalted, yet denied a participation in those regal honours to which she was so eminently calculated to give additional lustre—Expectations of the most animating nature are excited—Hopes the most cheering are raised—Prospects the most brilliant are opened before her—Young, buoyant, cheerful, and confiding, the amiable Princess, Caroline of Brunswick, sailed for England to become the wife of Britain's Heir-apparent,—with a prospect of even ascending the throne of the greatest nation in Europe—But, alas! one short month had not passed after her arrival in this country ere she began to taste the bitter fruits of disappointment—Soon did she discover that her husband's "inclinations" were at war with their mutual happiness—She gave him a child; but this bond of union was, also, speedily broken—The beloved Princess Charlotte was snatched from her mother's arms; and the mother herself became an exile and a wanderer over more than half of the civilized globe. At length the period arrived, when the death of her great protector, and royal father-in-law, rendered it necessary that she should return—to claim her rights as Queen, and rescue her character from infamy. She implored justice—she invoked the laws of her adopted country—but justice was denied her—and the laws were insulted in her royal person—she cried again and again for justice, after her innocence had been proved; but the blind deity saw not her supplicating posture; and the scales were held by an unsteady hand. At length this illustrious sufferer sunk beneath the weight of oppression; and died of a broken heart, lamented by the whole nation.

Such are the general outlines of the following volumes: that they are rich in important events I need not inform the intelligent reader: that they should be related with candour and impartiality I owe it to my own character, as a writer not altogether unknown to the public, and to my own conscience as a faithful historian.

And here I may be permitted to remark, that in reviewing the Life and Character of her late most gracious Majesty, the Queen; and in remarking on the numerous

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circumstances of the unhappy misunderstanding between her and the King, whatever private opinions I may venture to divulge on this subject, I ought not, in fairness, to be charged with any political bias whatever. This question, as it appears to my mind, has nothing to do with the party politics of the day: it is a simple question of right and justice: a question, however, which involves the morality, the feeling, and the happiness of the people at large; and, whatever may be said of the Author's political opinions, he has not hesitated to express himself on the various facts and conflicting testimonies that have come before him with all the freedom that becomes an honest man, and all the truth that ought to influence a candid recorder of important events. If, in the performance of this duty, he should have given offence to those who think, that whatever relates to the royal family must necessarily become a point to be mooted by polemical politicians, he has only to say that his object has been rather to prevent and allay, than to create angry feelings; but he must candidly assert, in the outset, that, as far as his present information and feelings lead him to conclude, he sees little to commend in the spirit and conduct of the late Queen's accusers; and much to admire in the intrepidity, the noble daring, the bold and inflexible appeals to the justice of the nation, manifested by the Queen to the very hour of her death. If the following sheets, therefore, appear to advocate the Queen's cause, it is because the Author has the firmest conviction that her's was the cause of truth, of justice, and of sound morality; and that her opponents, without charging them with any thing like wilful tyranny, or a desire to trample on the sacred rights and obligations of honour, or the feelings and interests of an afflicted, because an oppressed female, were, he is fully persuaded, most egregiously mistaken; and whilst they imagined, that, in lending their ears to reports against the Queen, they were supporting the honour and dignity of the King, they fell into an error from which they will not very speedily be extricated.

London, August, 1821.

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MEMOIRS

OF HER LATE MAJESTY,

QUEEN CAROLINE.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM of Lunenburg, the youngest of the four sons of the pious Prince, Ernestus, the first of the illustrious house of Brunswick, who embraced the Protestant religion, founded the line from whence sprung the present royal family of Great Britain. His father has been described as not only the first Protestant of his house, but as the progenitor of all the princes of that house now existing in Europe.

William himself, closely following the example of his excellent parent, justly obtained the epithets of *the Pious, the Just,* and *the Pacific,* than which it is difficult to conceive titles more honourable, or more worthy of a man's ambition. He died in the year 1592, leaving behind him, by his Princess, Dorothy, daughter of Christian III. King of Denmark, fifteen children; *viz.* seven sons and eight daughters. The names of the former were Ernest, Christian, Augustus, Frederick, Magnus, George, and John.

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These princes astonished all Europe, and even excited the particular admiration of Achmet, the Turkish Emperor, by one of the most extraordinary determinations that perhaps ever before entered the imagination of any number of men, circumstanced as these were. They unanimously resolved that but one of them should enter into the marriage state, in order, as they said, that they might the better maintain the splendour and dignity of their house. It was also agreed, that the oldest should, in the first instance, have the sole regency of the Lunenburg dominions, and that he should be succeeded by the next surviving brother.

Having formed this determination, they drew lots who should first have the honour of the matrimonial contract, when the lot falling on Prince George, the sixth brother, he immediately married, and continued the line. He was succeeded by the four eldest in succession; but the other three died before their turn to reign came.

George greatly distinguished himself under his brother, in the German wars. He married Ann Eleanor, daughter of Lewis V. Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, by whom he had several sons and daughters. Of the former, the most distinguished in the history of the times in which he lived, was George William, Duke of Zelle, who succeded his brother, Christian Lewis, in the principalities of Zelle and Grubenhagen, having previously been in possession of those of Calenberg and Gottingen.

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This Duke was much caressed by William, Prince of Orange, and is said to have been one of the most accomplished and valiant princes in all Europe. Even after the Prince of Orange came to the throne of Great Britain, under the title of William III. he consulted Prince George William on several memorable occasions. He died August 28th, 1705, in the 82d year of his age, leaving only one daughter, Sophia Dorothy, who afterwards married her cousin, George Lewis, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, subsequently George I. King of Great Britain. This prince inherited his father's German dominions, and was the first of this illustrious family who ascended the British throne.

Ernest Augustus, was the youngest son of George, the above named son of William the Pious, of Lunenburg. He was a prince of distinguished talents and learning, and, by the treaty of Westphalia, became the secular Bishop of Osnaburg. In the year 1692, agreeably to a decision of the diet of Augsburg, held three years before, the great merit of this prince procured for him the title of an Elector of the Roman empire. He erected a splendid palace at Osnaburg at his own expense; but, on the death of his brother, John Frederick, he fixed his residence at Hanover, where he established many wise and wholesome regulations, and rendered numerous services to the empire. He married Sophia, youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector-palatine and King of Bohemia, by

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Elizabeth, only daughter of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland. By this marriage the crown of Great Britain was confirmed to his descendants, and a connection was formed between the two houses of Brunswick and of Stuart, which terminated in the final settlement of the former. The last branch, in the direct line, of the Stuart family, Henry Benedict Maria Clement, Cardinal York, calling himself Henry IX. King of England, died at Rome, August 31, 1807, after having, during a few years, enjoyed a pension of 4000*l.* per annum, generously granted to him by our late venerable monarch, George III., an instance of liberality perhaps never before witnessed, considering the few years that had elapsed, since the cardinal, on the death of his brother, Charles, had caused medals to be struck, bearing on their face his head, with the motto, "HENRICUS NONUS ANGLIÆ REX;" on the reverse, a city, with "GRATIA DEI, SED NON VOLUNTATE HOMINUM:" *Henry IX. King of England, by the grace of God, but not by the will of Man!*

Ernest Augustus died in the year 1698, and was succeeded by his son George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, who, as already intimated, on the death of Queen Anne, in 1714, agreeably to the act of Settlement and Succession, made in the reign of William III. ascended the throne of England, by the title of George I. He was then in the fifty-fifth year of his age; and he reigned till he had attained his sixty-eighth. During nearly the whole

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of these thirteen years, the country was greatly distracted by internal faction and external war. He was himself well skilled in the use of arms, having served during three campaigns in the wars against the Turks; neither was he deficient as a statesman and a governor. Indeed, on several occasions he manifested a very great degree of wisdom and sagacity. During his negotiations with the British court before the death of Queen Anne, he displayed considerable skill; and throughout the whole of his reign the same penetrating mind was conspicuous. Whig principles, of which he was the zealous and the constant advocate, led him uniformly to support the doctrines and the measures most favourable to civil and religious liberty, which he regarded as the inalienable right of mankind. Less tenacious of his own prerogative than of the rights and privileges of his subjects, as he never made any attacks upon the latter, no encroachments were ever attempted upon the former.

He died at Osnaburg in the 13th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, George II. who pursued the same liberal line of general policy in his government. He left also a daughter, who afterwards became Queen of Prussia, and died at the castle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunswick, where she had been confined for several years.

George II. married Wilhelmina Caroline, daugh-

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ter of John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburgh Anspach. She had issue four sons and five daughters. Frederick Lewis, the eldest son, was afterwards father of our late lamented and excellent King, George III.

It were an unnecessary extension of this part of the subject to detail the various circumstances attendant on the very bitter and lasting animosity which George II. manifested towards the Prince of Wales, and through him to his wife the Princess, during a long period, before and after the birth of his Royal Highness's son, George Augustus, our late King. For some cause or other, never publicly known, the Prince and Princess of Wales were driven from the royal presence, and were compelled to live in private. Their residence, for some time, was in a private house in Leicester Fields. They afterwards took up their residence at Norfolk House, St. James's Square, where, however, they were still pursued with a severity only exceeded or equalled by certain recent proceedings, where a husband visited the wife of his bosom with a similar degree of punishment to that which was inflicted by a father on the child of his loins. In both cases alluded to there are so many striking and painful coincidences, that it is impossible to peruse the history of those times without instantly turning one's attention to facts of a much later date. No guard of honour being allowed to the disgraced Frederick Lewis and his afflicted Prin-

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cess, gave rise to the following lines, which appeared in the London Magazine for June 1739:

Some I have heard who speak this with abuse:
" Guards should attend as well the prince as duke;
" Guards should protect from insult Britain's heir,
" Who greatly merits all the nation's care:"
Pleas'd with the honest zeal they thus express,
I tell them what each statesman must confess;
No guard so strong, so noble, e'er can prove,
As that which F————k has—*the People's love.*

The sagacious reader will not require to be told, that a very slight change in the above lines would render them not very inapplicable to some circumstances of our own day.

The stern, but virtuous George II. died at Kensington, on the 25th of October, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, George Augustus, our late sovereign, whose father, the Prince of Wales, had departed this life on the 20th of March, in the year 1750.

It is not necessary to the facts of this history, that we proceed any farther in the details of those circumstances, which immediately concern the introduction of the male branch of the House of Brunswick into this country; but we should leave this part of the Queen's life mainly defective, were we to pass unnoticed her connection on the female side, with King George IV.

In narrating this part of her late Majesty's Life, it will be necessary to go more at length, than we have hitherto done, into the facts of her early history, and into that of the family and court in which

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she was born and educated. It is not, however, my intention here to go so far back into the history of the House of Brunswick as I have already done; but shall confine myself to that portion of it which have an immediate and direct connection with the personal history of the illustrious and unfortunate subject of these Memoirs.

Charles, Duke of Brunswick, had issue by his Princess, Phillipina, Charles. William Ferdinand, hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, was born October the 9th, 1735, and married in London, January 16th, 1764, to the Princess Augusta, eldest sister of his Majesty George III. Of these illustrious parents was born her late most gracious Majesty Queen Caroline, niece to King George III. and first cousin to King George IV.

Were it necessary we might show, that her Majesty descended from a long and most illustrious race of ancestors, and that she stood connected, at the time of her unhappy marriage, with some of the most ancient royal families of Europe.

The court of his Serene Highness, the Duke of Brunswick, at and long after the birth of Caroline, was the seat of much ducal grandeur; and is said to have been the resort of almost all those brave and gallant officers who have signalized themselves in the wars of Europe; and whose successes in arms, before the arrest of their career of glory, by the devastating power and superior force of the late Napoleon Bonaparte, had inspired them with sentiments of a noble and generous pride. To this

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court, also, numerous foreigners of distinction were known to resort; hence it became the almost constant scene of festivity and pleasure—the rallying point of gaiety and fashion.

This general intercourse with many of the most fascinating and intelligent persons of all the surrounding nations, had a natural tendency to remove, in a great degree, the sedate and sombre character of those Germans who were the constant witnesses and partakers of the amusements and festivities for which the ducal court of Brunswick was supereminently conspicuous.

In such a school as this it was natural that a mind, already buoyant and elastic; and a heart, whose original and native character was that of frankness and unreservedness, should be moulded into forms not easily changed, when, in after life, they should come to be exposed to the broad gaze of the world, and should come, also, under the review and scrutinizing eye of persons in other countries, and born under other auspices, whose real or affected notions of what they call propriety and decorum, lead them to condemn whatever they do not understand, and treat with disdain whatever they are incapable of appreciating.

But we will proceed to give some further account of the immediate relatives of her Majesty, and of their history prior to her first coming to England.

Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, already mentioned, had issue, by his Princess Augusta, first, Charlotte Georgiana

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Augusta, born December the 3d, 1764, and married October the 11th, 1780, to Frederick William, Prince of Wirtemburg-Stutgard, afterwards Duke of Wirtemburg-Stutgard, to whom she bore two sons and a daughter. After her decease, the Duke married his second wife, Charlotte, Princess-royal of Great Britain, now Queen of Wirtemburg; Bonaparte having raised the dukedom to a kingdom.

Second: Charles George Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, born February the 8th, 1766, married October the 14th, 1790, to the Princess Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina, daughter of William V. Stadtholder.

Third: CAROLINE AMELIA ELIZABETH, late Queen-consort of King George IV. born May the 17th, 1768. Died August 8th, 1821, in the 54th year of her age.

Fourth: George William Christian, born June the 27th, 1769.

Fifth: William Frederick, born October the 9th, 1771; and

Sixth: Leopold, of whose melancholy death the Leyden Gazette of 1785, gives the following particulars:

"We have, within these few days, experienced the greatest calamities, by the overflowing of the Oder, which burst its banks in several places, and carried away houses, bridges, and every thing that opposed its course. Numbers of people lost their lives in this rapid inundation; but of all the acci-

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dents arising from it, none was so generally lamented as the death of the good Prince Leopold of Brunswick. This amiable personage, standing at the side of the river, a woman threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to give orders for some persons to go to the rescue of her children, whom, bewildered by the sudden danger, she had left behind her in the house. Some soldiers who were also in the same place were crying for help.

The Prince endeavoured to procure a flat-bottomed boat, but no one could be found to venture across the river, even though the Prince offered large sums of money, and promised to share the danger. At last, moved by the cries of the unfortunate inhabitants of the suburb, and led by the sentiments of his own benevolent heart, he took the resolution of going to their assistance himself. Those who were about him endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprise; but, touched to the soul by the distress of the miserable people, he replied in the following words: "What am I more than either you or they? I am a man, like yourselves, and nothing ought to be attended to here but the voice of humanity."

Unshaken, therefore, in his resolution, he immediately embarked, with three watermen, in a small boat, and crossed the river. The boat did not want three lengths of the bank, when it struck against a tree, and in an instant, they all, together with the boat, disappeared. A few minutes after the Prince rose again, and supported

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himself a short time by taking hold of a tree; but the violence of the current soon bore him down, and he never appeared more.

The boatmen, more fortunate, were every one saved, and the Prince alone became the victim of his own humanity. The whole city was in affliction for the loss of this truly amiable Prince, whose humility, gentleness of manners, and compassionate disposition, endeared him to all ranks. He lived, indeed, as he died, in the highest exercise of humanity. Had not the current been so rapid, he would, no doubt, have been saved, as he was a remarkably good swimmer."

Prince Charles Ferdinand was a man of undoubted military skill, and of great personal bravery. His life was checquered by varying scenes of great prosperity and comparative adversity. He inherited most of the virtues of his ancestors. He received his military education under his uncle, Prince Ferdinand, styled, during the lifetime of his father, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle.

In the reign of George II. Prince Ferdinand was appointed to the command of the British army during the celebrated seven years' war, when Prince Charles commanded the troops of his own country, which at that time formed a portion of the allied army. But as it is foreign to the direct objects of this work to enter very minutely into the military transactions of those days, I shall limit this part of the subject to a very small

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compass, only briefly noticing a few of the most important transactions in which the father of her present Majesty, Queen Caroline, took a prominent part, and which ultimately led to his residence amongst us in London.

This Prince succeeded his father in the dukedom of Brunswick in the year 1780, and, about six years afterwards, he entered Holland at the head of a Prussian army; when he re-established the Prince of Orange in the statdholdership.

In 1792, at the commencement of the French Revolution, he was appointed commander in chief of the combined armies of Austria and Prussia, on which occasion his manifesto appeared against the French nation, in which his Royal Highness threatened them with little short of total annihilation, unless they would return to a proper sense of their situation, and would cease to manifest a disposition to levy war against every crowned head in Europe.

His Highness, however, as might have been expected, failed in his plans, and his army was shortly reduced to a most wretched and deplorable condition. His military talents, nevertheless, were often eminently displayed; and numerous were the occasions in which he very greatly signalized himself.

In the latter end of the year 1806, however, commenced a series of defeats and mortifications which he lived but a short time to witness. In the year 1794, he had resigned his situation in the army to Field-marshal Mollendorff; but during

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the overwhelming reign and sway of Bonaparte, he was again appointed commander in chief of his Prussian Majesty's forces. During this time, at the battle of Auerstadt, after exertions which called forth even the acknowledgments of the enemy, he was wounded by a cannon ball in the forehead, by which he lost his eye-sight, and was carried off the field of battle.

He was at first taken to Brunswick; but the rapid advances of the French army compelled him to seek refuge in the Danish territory of Altona, and for a short time he lived retired under the assumed title of Count Werdtheim.

The sudden and overwhelming reverses of fortune by which the sovereignty of the house of Brunswick was declared to be dissolved, preyed so keenly on the heart of this brave man, and so aggravated the nature of his wound, that he could no longer sustain the weight of his affliction, but died on the 10th of November, only a few days prior to the triumphant entry of the French into the city of Hamburgh.

From the moment he received the wound to the day of his death, this valiant Prince was utterly incapable of observing what passed. He was thus providentially saved the pain of knowing the full extent of those calamities which befel his conquered country. His son, the Duke of Brunswick Oels, arrived at his father's house the very day after his death. His horses were disposed of by public auction, as also were his jewels and

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what other valuable effects he left behind him, which had escaped the hands of the invaders.

On the 12th of the month his body was opened and embalmed. On opening the skull it was discovered, that, had no other cause operated to take away life, the wound in his head was, from the first, mortal. His once noble and high spirited heart was deposited in a silver box, and his remains, in the full regimentals of the Brunswick dragoons, with boots and spurs, a large Prussian cocked hat, with the star on his left breast, and the British Order of the Garter, lay in state till the evening of the 18th in a plain coffin, covered with black velvet.

The states of Brunswick sent an estaffette to Napoleon Bonaparte, requesting that the remains of the Duke might be deposited in the family vault; when the following brutal, but perfectly characteristic answer was returned: "Tell," said the inhuman conqueror, "the Duke of Brunswick, that I would rather cede Belgium, I would rather renounce the crown of Italy, than allow him, or any of his sons ever again to set foot within the Brunswick territory: let him take his money and jewels, and be gone to England!"

Such was the insolent conduct of Bonaparte, now himself a captive, and complaining of the cruelty and severity of his captors!

It was the wish of Duke Charles to be buried wherever he might happen to fall.

The successor of this Prince, not more forta-

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nate than himself, was literally driven from his native country, to seek an asylum at the court of his royal brother-in-law, in this country. By orders of the late King, apartments in Hampton Court Palace were prepared for his reception.

Frederick Augustus, the next brother of the Duke of Brunswick, likewise distinguished himself as a soldier and commander; and several interesting anecdotes of his skill and bravery are recorded by his biographer. He fought under Frederick III. King of Prussia, as also did the Duke's second brother, Prince William Adolphus.

Prince Albert Henry, the third brother, was slain at the age of eighteen, on the 20th of July, 1761, in a skirmish with a body of French troops. Duke Charles's third daughter, Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, was married to Frederick IV. King of Prussia, who became the father of her late Royal Highness the Duchess of York.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING thus briefly noticed some of the leading particulars in the lives of her Majesty's immediate ancestors, I may proceed, more directly, to her Majesty's own personal history.

The gaiety and gallantry of her father's court have already been noticed. She was born on the 17th of May, 1768, and was educated chiefly under

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the immediate eye of her mother. At a very early age, she was introduced into all the circles of fashionable life; but it has been observed that the majority of her Serene Highness's female associates were persons advanced in age, whose formality and sedateness but ill suited the natural vivacity of her temper.

Pride never, at any time, appeared to have a seat in her breast. Indeed this vice was not indulged at a court which was almost proverbial for its hospitality; and which might be characterized rather by its openness and generosity, and a freedom of manners approaching to levity, than by any flagrant demonstrations of licentiousness.

What, in this country, would be considered highly derogatory to the character of a princess of the blood royal, was indulged as a pleasing and an innocent exercise of domestic condescension at the court of the Duke of Brunswick: for there it was common with her Serene Highness frequently to converse with her domestic attendants, by the humblest of whom, as well as by persons of every rank in her native country, she was greatly beloved.

That unhappy woman, the late Lady Douglas, whose horrid calumnies had once nearly proved fatal to the life and happiness of the royal subject of these Memoirs, had the audacity to assert that her Royal Highness was grossly ignorant, coarse, and uneducated. This was a falsehood and a slander to be surpassed only by those atrocious charges of a criminal nature which had well nigh

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raised her ladyship to a situation in the pillory. Her Serene Highness, the Princess of Brunswick, received an education infinitely superior to her base calumniator's, and every way befitting her exalted station in life.

It is not necessary to enter into any minute details respecting her Majesty's course of early education: it is sufficient to observe, that there was no branch of human learning, nor any accomplishment, useful or ornamental, and suitable to the education of a German princess, into which she was not properly initiated. Her taste, however, does not appear to have led her particularly to the cultivation of literature or the arts; except, indeed, of the most fascinating and enchanting science of music, of which her Majesty is passionately fond, and in which she is known to be a considerable proficient, particularly on the harpsichord.

In her early life she devoted much of her time in the indulgence of the harmless recreations of her native country, and in various mechanical pursuits, in which she manifested great ingenuity. Toys, trinkets of various kinds, lockets, and ornaments in an amusing variety, have been made by her.

Her great beauty of person, and perfect affability of manners, procured her repeated instances of marked respect whenever she chose to appear in public, which she did almost every day. These repeated tokens of esteem and regard from persons very much below her Serene Highness in life, were frequently acknowledged by that frankness

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and apparent familiarity which, in later periods of her history, we shall find were construed into marks of a culpable levity of character. It is in the nature of envy and prejudice to give a false colouring to every thing, and that which in itself is really praiseworthy, and deserving of imitation, is not unfrequently distorted into crime by minds of a low, malicious, and grovelling nature. Of the various constructions which many of our words and actions will often bear, these persons uniformly adopt the worst. Themselves utterly incapable of elevation of soul, they labour incessantly to reduce all mankind to their own standard; and are never so happy as when they can seize some opportunity for slandering and calumniating their neighbours.

Had her Serene Highness been naturally of a licentious temperament—had she been as regardless of the duties of religion and morality as her enemies have described her to be, she wanted not examples to cherish those noxious weeds in her royal breast: for though the court of Brunswick cannot fairly be charged with any marked depravity of manners, it is not to be denied, that, amongst the numerous gay and thoughtless beings that are found to flutter through the circles of every royal court, there were to be found females whose principles and practices were not very conformable to the strict rules of sound morality. It is sometimes difficult to separate the precious from the vile; nor is it always very easy for a virtuous unsuspecting mind to preserve itself free from

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taint, when compelled frequently to come into contact with the bewitching allurements of fashionable vice.

It has been said, that at the court of Brunswick there were some four or five females who gloried in an open and shameless disregard of the marriage ties. How far this representation may partake of exaggeration, it is difficult to ascertain; but this much is clear, that whatever tincture of licentiousness might occasionally be found at that court, it was universally admitted that the Princess Caroline and her immediate and constant associates and friends kept themselves aloof from those whose morals and principles bore any mark of culpability. The common etiquette of court politeness compelled them to interchange the usual ceremonies of good manners with these suspected characters; but beyond that, I am persuaded, neither the young Princess nor any of her confidential friends carried their intimacy with such persons. Her mother was her chief, if not, in fact, her only confidant; yet, as I have already intimated, she was the most open, free, candid, and condescending female of her rank in the world.

She was always particularly partial to the English; and as she was young, and caressed by every one, it was not to be wondered at, that her heart should have sometimes received some of those tender impressions, which, if not checked in time, uniformly lead to attachments afterwards not very easily dissolved. Of this nature, it is reported,

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was her Serene Highness's regard for a young officer who was a constant visiter at her father's court. This gentleman was, I believe, a native of Ireland. He had fought with success under the Duke of Brunswick, against the French; and thus an intimacy was formed of a strict and particular nature. The following anecdote of this officer, though related with some appearance of amplification and romance, is, nevertheless, I doubt not, true in the main facts:

On a certain occasion the command of a squadron of cavalry had been confided to this officer, who, it appears, was usually denominated, "the handsome Irishman." By making the circuit of some neighbouring hills, and taking the enemy in flank, this officer sought to make a successful diversion. Some unforeseen obstacles, however, for a time impeded the progress of the detachment; but just as the allies had begun to give way, the sudden appearance of the chosen troop in the rear, threw the centre of the French (who in the heat of action had considerably advanced) into some confusion, and inspired their antagonists with fresh courage. The personal intrepidity of the young officer was eminently conspicuous. Somewhat proud of his commission, he had dressed himself in full hussar uniform; and his tall, commanding figure was rendered still more conspicuous in the thickest of the fight by the snowy whiteness of his waving plume. The squadron was engaged upon a hill side; the numbers of the enemy threatened inevi-

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table destruction, and the determined fury with which they fought, as if from a feeling of shame at the insulting temerity of their opponents, appeared to shut out all hope of their return. At this juncture, however, the right and left wings of the French retreated in great disorder; and the eagerness of the allies in their pursuit, rendered them unmindful of the perilous situation of their valiant comrades.

Surrounded by a small party of his guards, and at a short distance from the spot where the encounter was sustained, the Duke of Brunswick gazed with animated pleasure on the desperate conflict; and, like another Edward, refused to permit any aid to be sent them which might detract from the glory of their success. Dashing through the heat of the fire, and spurring his black charger literally into the ranks of the enemy, he beheld with amazement the heroism of the commanding officer of this courageous band, who, at length, waving his sabre over his head, and raising a loud "huzza!" which was reiterated by his men, till the hills rang with its martial echo, made a last desperate charge on the French standard. Fierce was the contest—furious the attack, and undaunted the defence; but his courage and his fortune prevailed. Careless of life, and bent on victory, his arm scattered death and destruction around him. The fainting defenders of their country's flag opened a passage to his daring purpose; and, at a single blow, the lifeless body of the French commander fell prostrate

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at his feet. Snatching the standard from his quivering grasp, the gallant Irishman bore it proudly aloft, and shouted "Victory!"

The Duke, no longer able to repress his feelings, galloped with his guards to his assistance; and, at this same moment, the bugles of the allied troops, returning from the pursuit, sounded "loud and near." For the first time, sensible of their danger, amazed at the success of this handful of cavalry, and despairing of all further efforts, the French threw down their arms. The Duke, leaping from his steed, embraced the young hero, complimented his success with the applause of a veteran, and the frankness of a soldier; and, taking from his own breast three of the orders with which he was decorated, flung them round the bending neck of the illustrious foreigner.

The fame of this gallant exploit soon reached the court of Brunswick, where it was related in all those glowing colours which are usually given by the narrators of such welcome intelligence; and shortly afterwards, winter approaching, it was necessary that the belligerent nations of Europe should retire for mutual repose and to recruit their almost exhausted strength.

It was perfectly natural, that the frequenters of the court of the Duke of Brunswick should look upon the young officer, of whose fame and courage they had heard so much, with more than ordinary interest; and that wherever he went he should be attended by no small portion of warm admirers.

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On his return the ladies pressed round his person with ardent curiosity; and amongst those who regarded the hero with this intense esteem, it is said, her Serene Highness exhibited a peculiar share of regard and solicitude. To the reiterated expressions of respect and admiration with which the gallant officer was hourly saluted from ladies of the highest rank at court, he is reported to have returned those polite and grateful acknowledgments which such attentions merited; but to the simple yet pathetic encomiums of the Princess, received as they were from her own lips, he found it impossible not to return a feeling of something more than gratitude.

I will not take upon myself the responsibility of proving the accuracy of all that has been written and said concerning the effects of this mutual attachment, which is stated to have subsequently subsisted between her Serene Highness, and this distinguished officer. That such an attachment had, at one time, an actual existence, I have no sort of doubt: that it extended to the degree of intenseness which some persons have amused the world by declaring, I am not in the least inclined to believe. Be it as it may, it was an attachment impossible to have been countenanced by the Duke her father, and such as her own good sense shortly convinced her, she could not indulge with propriety. Higher, if not happier destinies awaited her. Kings and Princes have much less personal liberty than most of their subjects: their hearts, though suscep-

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tible of the same impressions, and governed by the same laws of nature, are not permitted to retain their earliest emotions and attachments. The laws of the society in which they move bind them to act, or rather to be acted upon, like so many richly decorated automata. They may love: for neither "many waters can quench," nor any human power control the flames of that generous passion; but they must not follow the bias of their affections. All that is left to them, and in many cases scarcely that, is a kind of negative voice in affairs that affect their dearest personal interests and domestic happiness. The holy ties of matrimony, a rite which even to the present day is numbered amongst the sacraments of the church by a very large portion of the Christian world, are considered, by the doctors of our royal courts, as no other than those bonds which serve to legalize and perpetuate alliances and treaties of a purely worldly character, between the families of great and ancient states. They unite their persons by these sacred obligations, just as men in ordinary life form partnerships in trade; or, as they themselves barter or fight for territories and dominions. I am not finding fault with this: for aught I can tell, it may all be very good and very necessary for the peace, and the general security and prosperity of surrounding or contiguous nations; and if princes will sacrifice their affections for the good of the state, it is not for the subjects, who may be supposed to reap the benefit of the mighty boon, to complain of the

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mode or the terms of its conveyance. But this much we may venture to assert, that, owing to this kind of state policy and practice, for one happy royal marriage, there are twenty of a contrary description; and when such a fortunate circumstance takes place, all the world is made to resound with the happy intelligence, as something as much to be wondered at as when the holy exile of Patmos, in his miraculous vision, saw "a woman in the sun." The truly happy marriage of our late lovely Princess Charlotte, with the good and excellent Leopold of Saxe Coburg, was a case in point; hence we never speak of that marriage union without some expressions bordering on astonishment at the uncommon share of mutual happiness with which it was attended. There are doubtless some other similar instances; but, generally speaking, a truly happy royal marriage is as seldom to be found, as gold in a coal mine.

We are, however, always assured, in the beginning at least, that all these marriages are wisely *negotiated*—(Royal lovers always marry without courtship,) are suitably contracted; and promise the happiest results, both to the individuals personally concerned, and to the nation at large. Nature and reason, however, cannot be so baulked and deluded; and often, very often, could we penetrate the hidden recesses of the souls of the royal pair, we should discover ten thousand miseries and disgusting misgivings playing round their heart strings, even during their warmest expressions

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of thankfulness and acknowledgments for the public addresses of congratulation, that are usual on these occasions. Thus it was, there is abundant reason to believe, with the marriage between his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and her Serene Highness the Princess of Brunswick.

The Duke of Brunswick, with a sternness and severity perhaps not natural to him, but prompted by what he felt to be due to the honour and dignity of his illustrious house, took measures for effectually checking the growing friendship, which he could not but witness between his daughter, and his friend, the gallant officer; and even had he been less disposed than he really was to such an alliance,—an alliance which, as these things are generally managed amongst kings and courtiers, it was utterly impossible should take place,—a demand from the court at St. James's of the hand of the Princess Caroline for the heir apparent to the British Throne, would have instantly confirmed his resolution.

Without more extensive and accurate means of information than it can reasonably be expected any one, besides an eye-witness, can possess of what took place within the walls of the ducal palace of Brunswick, it would be the heighth of presumption in me to pretend to lay before the reader all the conflicting circumstances, one may reasonably conclude, would be attendant on this proposal. That it would highly gratify the laudable ambition of the Duke, whatever effect it might

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have on the feelings of the amiable Caroline, it is very easy to conceive. Ambition and family aggrandizement are, in the estimation of modern courts, matters of infinitely greater importance than female feelings. But I must not indulge in conjecture, nor suffer the reader of these Memoirs to be led astray in his judgment by retailing to him all the romantic stories that have been told, with an amusing degree of circumstantiality, too circumstantial, indeed, to be true, of what was said and done at the Ducal Court, on this occasion. I hasten, therefore, to that period in the life of her Majesty which, though pregnant with interest, is necessarily less involved in doubt and darkness than are the events of the time concerning which, I have, in the foregoing pages, briefly touched upon.

Having been invited by the court of Great Britain, in 1794, to marriage and to happiness, with the heir apparent, the Prince and Princess were married on the 8th of April, 1795: the Prince of Wales being then thirty-two years of age, and the Princess twenty-three.

In some of the public journals for the year 1794, supposed at the time to have been in the confidence of government, it was stated that the Princess was very pleasing in her person, and in her accomplishments exquisite. It was also stated, that the idea of the Prince of Wales's nuptials originated some time before with a high personage, who had great interest in seeing the Prince established; and it

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was accordingly hinted to him, but in so delicate a manner, as to leave it entirely to his option. Juvenile pursuits at that time suspended all further discourse about it, till, one day, his Royal Highness praising the person and accomplishments of his sister the Princess Mary, before the Duke of Clarence, the Duke observed, she was very like the Princess of Brunswick, whom he had had the honour of knowing and conversing with. The Prince grew more inquisitive upon the subject; and the Duke so satisfied him in all particulars as to afford him the highest gratification.

The affair apparently dropped for that time; but on the morning of a grand gala, at Windsor, he mentioned it to the King, who was delighted with the proposal; and it was instantly communicated to the Queen, who is represented as being equally pleased with the idea of such an union. It was then agreed to keep the matter entirely out of the cabinet, till it was in some train of forwardness; and the first the ministers of state heard of it was an *official* notice to prepare for the embassy, the forms, the requisitions, &c. After this, presents and marriage favours were prepared for the Princesses, &c. as well as marks of his Royal Highness's remembrance to several persons of both sexes about the court.

The Princess of Brunswick was deemed one of the first performers on the harpsichord among the royal families of Europe, and the Prince of Wales was known to be passionately fond of music.

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Much preliminary matter, however, remained to be executed, and some very important arrangements to be made relative to the heavy debts with which his Royal Highness's affairs were at that time embarrassed, or the connubial life of the royal pair would have commenced under very inauspicious circumstances indeed. The details and discussions on this subject are too interesting to be passed over slightly; but they shall be deferred till we have given the particulars of the marriage of her Royal Highness on her arrival in this country.

When the idea of this marriage contract was first entertained, and, indeed, for some time afterwards, the internal state of the country, as well as its external relations, and its situation with respect to the war with France, would not allow the cabinet time for any other considerations than those which immediately led to measures of security at home, and the most active naval and military operations abroad. On this account the marriage was delayed somewhat longer than it otherwise would have been. The nation, however, was highly pleased with the proposed marriage, as it was generally supposed that the Prince of Wales would not consent to any such union, it being known that he had before rejected all proposals of that nature.

At length, matters having been finally arranged, active preparations were made for conducting her Serene Highness to this country: the marriage being previously solemnized by proxy on the con-

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tinent. She embarked at Cuxhaven, on board the Juno, or, as called by some of the public prints of the day, the Jupiter, of 50 guns, Captain Lechmere, on the afternoon of Saturday, March the 28th, 1795. Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and Lord Malmesbury, in the same ship; Major Heslop, Colonel Richardson, and Mr. Ross, in the Pheeton frigate, Captain Stopford. On Sunday morning at eight o'clock the ships weighed anchor from Cuxhaven with a fair wind at E.N.E. which continued till Wednesday, when a thick fog came on. They were then only six leagues from Yarmouth; but as it was dangerous to draw near the coast, the ships dropped anchor, and fired fog guns every hour. In this situation they lay through the whole of Thursday. The Princess had hitherto been extremely well, had walked the quarter deck every day, and was uncommonly cheerful; but, what with the fog, and the motion of the vessel at anchor, she became a little incommoded. The morning of Friday was uncommonly fine; and at four o'clock the Juno made the signal to get under weigh. The fleet went under an easy sail, came off Harwich about noon, and passed through the Swin to enter the Thames. About two a very thick fog came on, which obliged the commodore to drop anchor. At four the fog dispersed, and the signal being made to unmoor, the fleet again got under weigh, and about six o'clock dropped anchor at the Nore, being saluted by the Sandwich guard-ship stationed off there.

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At nine o'clock on Saturday morning the 4th of April, the ships got under weigh, the tide serving; and, about noon, the Juno anchored off Gravesend. Her Serene Highness slept on board that night.

On Sunday morning, as soon as the tide served, the Princess, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, Lord Malmesbury, and Commodore Payne, disembarked from the Juno, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and, soon after 12 o'clock, landed at Greenwich hospital. The Princess was received, on her landing, by Sir Hugh Palliser, the governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the governor's house, where she took tea and coffee.

It has been repeatedly said, and that with no view to the credit and feelings of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that he had expressly commissioned Lady Jersey, with whom it was reported, the Prince had, to use a little *gallicism*, formed *amitié*, to conduct her Serene Highness to this country. A thousand gossipping stories are related of what her ladyship said and did to the Princess on that memorable occasion; how she dressed and painted, bedizened and bedaubed the Princess, with the insidious and envious motive of rendering her an object of disgust to his Royal Highness. By tales like this the public credulity and curiosity have been trifled with during more than twenty years. The truth is, that Lady Jersey did not arrive at the governor's house at Greenwich till an hour after the Princess had landed, when they both retired into an adjoining room, where the

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dress of the Princess was changed, from a muslin gown and blue satin petticoat, with a black beaver hat, and blue and black feathers, for a white satin gown, and a very elegant turban cap of satin, ornamented with white feathers: a plume, in imitation of the Prince of Wales's own crest, studded with brilliants, which, as it played backwards and forwards in the light, produced a most beautiful effect. This magnificent cap, and the rest of the Princess's dress, were a present prepared by order of his Royal Highness, and were carried from town by Lady Jersey, to Greenwich for that purpose.

A little after two o'clock, her Serene Highness left the governor's house, and got into one of his Majesty's coaches, drawn by six horses. In this coach also were Mrs. Harcourt and Lady Jersey. Another of the King's coaches and six preceded it, in which were Mrs. Harvey Aston, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clermont, and Colonel Greville. In a third coach, with four horses, were two women servants, whom the Princess brought from Germany: these were the only German attendants she brought from that country.

A party of the Prince of Wales's own regiment of light dragoons, on each side, escorted the Princess's carriage. Besides this escort the road was lined, at short distances, by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were stationed from Greenwich all the way to the Horse Guards. In her way through the immense crowds of people that lined

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the whole way, and who greeted her with the most welcome gratulations, her Serene Highness bowed and smiled in the most affable manner.

A little before three o'clock the Princess alighted at St. James's Palace, and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception, looking into Cleveland Row.

Having rested a little after her journey, her Serene Highness appeared at the windows, which were thrown up, that the populace might have a sight of her. The loudest huzzas and cheering took place, exceeded only by those still more ardent and sympathetic congratulations with which this same Princess was recently greeted on her second arrival in the metropolis. To this welcome reception the Princess courtesied with all that condescending grace and affability for which she has ever been so distinguished. These joyful greetings continued for some minutes, until the Prince arrived from Carlton House.

The previous representations of the beauty and accomplishments of his Royal Highness's intended bride, heightened by the portrait which the Duke of Brunswick had sent to him, and which described her Serene Highness in the head-dress she wore on this occasion, all tended to excite the strongest emotions in the breast of the Prince of Wales. He had long borne the character of one of "the best bred princes in Europe;" and he was known to possess a heart keenly susceptible of the tenderest impressions. He had, too, as already

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stated, uniformly resisted every former proposal of marriage with a foreign princess; so that it was universally believed, that, in consenting to this union with her Serene Highness, the Princess Caroline, he had been influenced by warmer attachments and considerations than those of mere state policy. That two persons should actually love each other, in the ordinary and daily acceptation of that term, so as to seek an union of so lasting, so tender, and so sacred a nature as that of marriage, who had never in their lives so much as had a single interview—who perhaps never interchanged a single line of correspondence on any subject whatever—whose country, whose language, and whose manners must be essentially different, is too much to assert. Love is an affair of the heart: it is the perfection of friendship, originating in a personal contemplation of some real or imaginary excellence in the object beloved, corresponding with the best feelings of one's own breast. Without some affinities of this nature, there may be great esteem and much reciprocal regard, but there can be no such thing as love: the purest, the divinest, and most sublime affection of the human soul.

No wonder, therefore, that when his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was first introduced to the Princess Caroline, he should appear to be greatly agitated. He had consented to this union, I doubt not, from as pure and honourable a motive as ever influenced any heir to a throne, under similar circumstances; but, he could not

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have entirely forgotten, when he came to behold her who should be bound to him and his destinies by ties which no simple wish or caprice of his, nor any other ordinary circumstances, could ever afterwards dissolve, that his royal breast had many years before been most powerfully impressed by the warmest affection and love for another; that this object of his early attachment was still in existence, and that the policy of the constitution alone prevented their actual marriage: report, indeed, and that almost universally believed at the time, and by many persisted in to the present hour, stated that his Royal Highness had been married, according to the forms of the Catholic church; but this, I am convinced, is a calumny.

It is impossible not to feel that these considerations must press somewhat heavily on the mind of his Royal Highness at this important moment; nor is it unnatural or unreasonable to conjecture, that, probably, the Prince of Wales might, on first seeing the Princess, discover something in her features or manner not exactly corresponding to the exalted ideas he had been previously led to entertain of her. Not that any thing with which we are acquainted could induce the Prince to feel himself in the least disappointed; but we all know the power of imagination, and the ardour with which impressions of female beauty are received by bosoms naturally formed to entertain such sensibilities. Nor does it appear that the Prince himself manifested any other feelings but those of love

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and esteem for the illustrious personage with whom, in a few hours, he was to be united, to all human appearance, for ever.

Be this as it may, it is certain, that the moment the Prince of Wales set his foot in the Palace to have his first interview with her Serene Highness, he laboured under a very great degree of mental agitation. He was introduced to the Princess by Lord Malmesbury, and immediately saluted her. Mrs. Harcourt had, in the mean time, gone to the Queen's House, to announce the arrival of her Serene Highness.

The Prince of Wales was dressed in a full suit of the hussar uniform, of his regiment, the same as the dress of his picture, painted by Cosway, and sent to the Princess.

A little before five o'clock, the Prince and Princess sat down to dinner. At the same table were Lady Jersey, Mrs. Harvey Aston, Mrs. Harcourt, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clermont, Colonel Greville, and Major Hislop.

The people continuing to cheer before the Palace, his Royal Highness appeared at the window, and very condescendingly thanked them for this mark of their attention; but hoped they would excuse the re-appearance of the Princess at that hour, as it might possibly give her cold. This completely satisfied the populace, who gave the Prince three loud cheers, and then quietly dispersed.

About eight o'clock, the King, the Queen, and all the Princesses, the Duke and Duchess of York,

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the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William of Gloucester, now Duke, and the Princess Sophia, were introduced to her Serene Highness, and remained with her till eleven o'clock. The Princess was then left under the care of Mrs. Harvey Aston, who slept in the royal apartments.

On the following evening, April 8th, this ill-fated marriage was celebrated, with great pomp and splendour, at the Chapel Royal, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The processions to and from the Chapel, according to the account given in the New Annual Register for that year, were in the following order:

The Procession of the BRIDE.
Drums and Trumpets.
Kettle Drums.
Serjeant Trumpeter.
Master of the Ceremonies.
Bride's Gentleman Usher between the two senior Heralds.
His Majesty's Vice Chamberlain.
His Majesty's Lord Chamberlain.
THE BRIDE,
In her Nuptial Habit, with a Coronet, led by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.
Her train borne by four unmarried daughters of Dukes and Earls; (viz.)

Lady Mary Osborne,	Lady Caroline Villiers,
Lady Charlotte Spencer,	Lady Charlotte Legge;

And her Highness was attended by the Ladies of her Household.

On entering the Chapel, her Highness was conducted to the seat prepared for her, near her Majesty's Chair of State. The Master of the

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Ceremonies, with the Gentleman Usher, retired to the places assigned them.

The Lord Chamberlain, and the Vice Chamberlain, with a Herald, returned to attend the Bridegroom; the senior Herald remaining in the Chapel, to conduct the several persons to their respective places.

The BRIDEGROOM'S Procession,
In the same order as that of the Bride, with the addition of his Royal Highness's Household.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES,
In his collar of the Order of the Garter, supported by two unmarried Dukes: (viz.)
The Duke of Bedford, The Duke of Roxburgh;
And his Royal Highness, being conducted to his seat in the Chapel, the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice Chamberlain, and two Heralds, returned to attend his Majesty.

THEIR MAJESTIES' PROCESSION:
Drums and Trumpets as before.
Knight Marshal.
Pursuivants.
Heralds.
Treasurer of the Household.
Master of the Horse.
Two married Dukes: (viz.)
Duke of Leeds, Duke of Beaufort.
Lord Steward of the Household.
Provincial King of Arms.

Serjeants at Arms.	Lord Privy Seal.	Serjeants at Arms.
	Lord President of the Council.	

Archbishop of York.
Lord High Chancellor.
Archbishop of Canterbury.
Garter principal King at Arms, with his sceptre, between two Gentlemen Ushers.
The Earl Marshal, with his staff.
Princes of the Blood Royal: (viz.)
Prince William,

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His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester,
His Royal Highness the Duke of York.
Sword of State, borne by the Duke of Portland, between the
Lord Chamberlain, and Vice Chamberlain of the
Household.

HIS MAJESTY,

In the collar of the Order of the Garter.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.	Colonel of the Life Guards in waiting.	Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

The Lord of the Bed Chamber in waiting.
Master of the Robes.
Groom of the Bed Chamber.
Vice Chancellor to the Queen.

HER MAJESTY,

Between the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, the Queen's Master of the Horse.
Their Royal Highnesses, the Princess Royal,
Princess Augusta Sophia,
Princess Elizabeth,
Princess Mary,
Princess Amelia.
Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of York,
Princess Sophia of Gloucester,
Supported severally by their Gentlemen Ushers,
The Ladies of her Majesty's Bed Chamber.
Maids of Honour.
Women of her Majesty's Bed Chamber.

Upon entering the Chapel, the several persons in the procession were conducted to the places appointed for them. Their Majesties went to their chairs on the *hautpas*, the Bridegroom and Bride to their seats, and the rest of the royal family to those prepared for them, as has already been stated.

At the conclusion of the marriage service, their Majesties retired to their chairs of state under the

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canopy, while the anthem was performing. The procession afterwards returned in the following order:

Drums and Trumpets, as before.
Master of the Ceremonies.
The Princess's Gentleman Usher between two Heralds.
Officers of the Prince's Household.
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, leading the Bride, and supported by two married Dukes: (viz.)
Duke of Beaufort, Duke of Leeds.
The Ladies of her Royal Highness's Household.

The King was attended by the great officers, in the same manner in which his Majesty went to the Chapel; and her Majesty and the Princesses in the order before mentioned.

The procession at the return filed off to the privy chamber. Their Majesties, the Bridegroom and Bride, with the rest of the royal family, and the great officers of state, proceeded into the levee chamber, where the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities; after which the procession continued into the lesser drawing-room; and their Majesties, with the Bridegroom and Bride, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber; when the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, paid their compliments on the occasion.

The journals of the day describe the royal family, and particularly the Queen, as greatly pleased with this union: her Majesty is reported to have represented her Serene Highness as "a

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distinguished ornament of her sex, for grace, beauty, and mental endowments; one, in short, combining every requisite to render her worthy of being the bride of the heir apparent to the crown of Great Britain." Subsequent chroniclers, however, have taken upon themselves, on what authority, except that of their own prurient imaginations, it is impossible to discover, to assert that this approbation of the late Queen, to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Brunswick, was dictated by no other motives than those of state policy; that the heavy debts of her favourite son might be more willingly and promptly discharged by the nation; and that, in fact, being herself not blessed with any extraordinary share of personal beauty, her Majesty's encomiums on that of the Princess Caroline were by no means sincere. Some persons appear to consider the sanctuary of a monarch's breast, as open to every invader; hence the great familiarity with which they speak when describing the motives of the King's or Queen's actions; and the confidence they manifest in the relation of anecdotes, the facts of which it is almost impossible should ever have transpired beyond the secret chambers of royalty itself. However such idle and fallacious gossipping may gratify the taste, or feed the curiosity, of the ignorant and the credulous, the historian, who has the least regard for his own reputation, or respect for the understandings of his readers, will not dare to indulge in it; or to rest the truth of his statements

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on the apocryphal authority of some discharged servant, or the senseless rumours of a moment.

We can only conjecture concerning motives from actions, and here, it must be confessed, her late Majesty does not appear to very great advantage in the unhappy dispute between her son and daughter-in-law; nor was the sudden application to Parliament for the discharge of his Royal Highness's debts, calculated to make a favourable impression on the public mind, as to the motives which prompted such ready assent to marriage after so many former applications of that nature had been rejected.

The subject relative to the payment of the *Prince's* debts, and of the future establishment of his household, is too important to be passed over with only a slight notice. It shall be fully detailed farther on. For the present, let us proceed with our account of the royal marriage.

The appearance of the Princess at court was said to have been majestic, but accompanied by a sweetness and affability of manners, which riveted the admiration of all that beheld her. Her eyes intelligent, her countenance highly animated, and her teeth white and regular; her hair, of which she had an amazing quantity behind, of a light auburn colour, and dressed in a simple but elegant style. Her other dress was equally elegant, so that no doubt was entertained but that her Royal Highness would soon become the standard of fashion.

After the first drawing-room had closed, the

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royal family, together with the Prince of Wales and his amiable Bride, and numerous lords and ladies in attendance, repaired to the late Queen's Palace, Buckingham House, where a most splendid supper and entertainment were prepared by her Majesty for the royal pair. Besides some other foreign royal personages, there were present at the supper table, the Stadtholder and his family.

At twelve o'clock the newly married couple retired to Carlton House, where they slept.

The nuptial ceremonies were announced, in the course of the evening, to the public, by the firing of the Park and Tower guns; and the satisfaction which the event gave to the people was displayed by illuminations of a most magnificent nature. The burst of joy, and the manifestations of its sincerity, were as voluntary as they were universal. No mob-law was necessary to enforce obedience to the general wish for illuminations, and other demonstrations of the popular sentiment; nor was the evening marked by any of those disgraceful riots, disturbances, and accidents, which are so frequently the effects of such public proceedings.

On the morning of the 9th of April, the day after the royal marriage, the Prince and his Princess were visited by their Majesties, the King and Queen, who soon afterwards left town for Windsor, whither they were followed by their Royal Highnesses.

It may not be improper to notice in this place, that amongst the supplies granted by Parliament

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for the year 1795, we find the following items, under June the 15th: "Preparations for the Prince of Wales's Marriage, 27,500*l.*;" and, "for completing the works at Carlton House," for the reception of the Prince and his royal consort, "25,000*l.*" Little more than a month after this, an act was passed to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity on the Prince of Wales; and to make provision, out of his revenues, for the payment of debts due from his Royal Highness; and for preventing the accumulation of debts in future; and for regulating the mode of expenditure of the said revenues. An act also passed, about the same time, for making provision for a jointure for the Princess of Wales; but both these acts we shall notice more particularly farther on.

Soon after the marriage, addresses of congratulation to the King and Queen, and to the Prince and Princess of Wales, began to pour in from almost every quarter; and the city of London, always foremost on occasions of this nature, on the 17th of April, presented an address, expressive of the warmest congratulations to their Majesties. The same corporation also presented the following address, dated April the 23d:

"To his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to congratulate your Royal Highness, on your recent marriage with her Serene Highness, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick.

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"It is with extreme pleasure and gratification that we behold your Royal Highness so impressed with affection towards his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, as to form the present happy alliance with a princess, illustrious in rank, and possessing every engaging quality of the heart, united to the important situation she fills, and calculated to remunerate, with conjugal felicity, the high honour of your Royal Highness's affection and choice.

"The prospect, by this illustrious event, of perpetuating the virtues of your royal house to posterity, who shall know, equally with ourselves, how to value the mild monarchy so admirably interwoven with our most excellent constitution, forms a material part of our happiness.

"Depending, as good subjects ever must, on the virtues of the royal breast, so essential to the splendour of the throne, and the prosperity of the people, it is matter of great consolation to us, to reflect upon the invaluable example of your royal father, which, confirming the many graceful and amiable qualifications of your own mind, cannot but complete the royal character, and, in the fulness of time, must make your future people happy.

"May your illustrious consort long enjoy her exalted situation, and may a numerous progeny, from this auspicious union, transmit the blessings under which we live to the end of time.

(Signed, by Order of the Court,) "RIX."

To this affectionate and flattering address, his Royal Highness returned the following answer:

"My lord-mayor and gentlemen,

"I am truly sensible of this mark of attention in the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled. I return them my sincere thanks for their congratulations on the occasion of my marriage; and it gives me peculiar satisfaction, that they take so warm an interest in this event. I am much gratified by the expressions of their affectionate attachment, which convey so strong a proof of their loyalty to the King, and of their zealous regard for my happiness."

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The deputation from the corporation were received by his Royal Highness in the most gracious and affable manner; and having received the above answer, they were admitted to kiss the Prince's hand, and were then introduced to the Princess, to whom they presented the following address:

"To her Royal Highness the Princess.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common hall assembled, take the earliest opportunity to congratulate your Royal Highness on the happy occasion of your marriage with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"Added to the intrinsic virtues of your Royal Highness, the high station you are so well qualified to adorn, and your alliance with so distinguished a prince, the heir apparent of these happy realms, your Royal Highness has also powerful claims to the affection of a grateful people, nearly related as you are to our most gracious sovereign, the father of his subjects.

"Permit then, Madam, the faithful subjects of the best of Kings, to assure your Royal Highness of their most sincere veneration and esteem, and to believe that as your interest is now united with that of our amiable Prince, your happiness will by them be considered and consulted as one.

"Long may your Royal Highness share the joy of so splendid an union, and may our latest posterity receive from you a continuation of those blessings which can only be experienced under the government of a beloved and virtuous King.

(Signed, by Order of the Court,) "RIX."

To this address her Royal Highness returned the following answer:

"My lord-mayor and gentlemen,

"I return you many thanks for your congratulations upon an

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event so interesting to my happiness, and so grateful to my feelings. My sentiments will ever be the same with those of the Prince, and they have been already better expressed to you by him."

Besides these, many other similar addresses were presented, and similar answers returned; and, for some time after the marriage, nothing but fetes and festivals, rejoicings and congratulations were heard of, interrupted only by the anxieties of the nation respecting the state of the war with France; and by the interest which the long-protracted trial of Warren Hastings, then drawing to a close, excited amongst the higher ranks of society. That gentleman was impeached, in the year 1786, by Mr. Burke, at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, of high crimes and misdemeanors, whilst governor-general of Bengal; in 1788 his trial commenced, and he was acquitted by a majority of the Peers on the 25th of April, 1795. This trial, then, lasted upwards of seven years. Its termination, therefore, very greatly occupied the public attention during the rejoicings for the Prince of Wales's marriage.

CHAPTER III.

THE frame of man is not calculated to support the physical excitement of perpetual joy, any more than it can bear up under the pressure of continual

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misery. As storms and tempests, though sometimes attended with destructive consequences to individuals, tend to purify the atmosphere, by purging it of numerous noxious vapours, so in the moral government of the world, a wise Providence has ordained, that the days of our rejoicing shall be limited, and that there shall be "a time to weep," as well as "a time to laugh;" "a time to mourn," as well as "a time to dance." An attentive observer of human life will discover that, in most cases, the means employed for the fulfilment of these several "purposes under heaven," are to be found some way or other connected with that prime "root of all evil"—MONEY. "Health" and "*peace*" are not the only ingredients in the composition of human happiness, as the world is at present constituted: they must be accompanied by "competence." In these "three words," in their most extensive signification, lie every enjoyment of human existence; but, in the acquirement of the last, the other two, particularly the second, are not unfrequently very greatly endangered.

Thus it was in the case before us. Every thing appeared to go on comfortably and swimmingly: the King rejoiced in the marriage of his eldest son; the people rejoiced in an union which bid fair to be productive of much happiness to the nation. But all this satisfaction was soon mixed with no inconsiderable portion of alloy by a message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, deli-

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vered on the 27th of April, on account of the debts of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Now it was that whispers began to circulate, that the Queen's motives for urging, and the Prince's for consenting to the marriage, were not of the purest, or most disinterested, kind. Scarcely eight years had elapsed since the debts of this same Prince had been paid by Parliament. To understand this subject properly, it will be necessary to take a short retrospective view of the proceedings in Parliament on the same topic at and since the year 1783, when the Prince of Wales came of age. At that time the King engaged to allow the Prince the sum of 60,000*l.* per annum out of the civil list, and the Commons voted a temporary aid of 60,000*l.* more for the settlement of the Prince's household on his attainment of the age of twenty-one years. The reader will hardly need to be informed, that by an express law, a Prince of Wales becomes of age at eighteen, three years earlier than the period legally permitted to other persons. The allowance, however, just mentioned, did not take place till the Prince had actually attained his twenty-first year.

A very few years had elapsed ere it was discovered that the sums granted to the Prince were inadequate to his expenditure: for in the year 1787, his Royal Highness was found to have contracted debts to the amount of about 100,000*l.* exclusive of upwards of half that sum expended on Carlton House.

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When this state of the Prince's affairs was laid before him, he deemed it expedient to make some arrangements for the satisfaction of his creditors. He first made application to his father, of whose filial affection he had received such repeated proofs; and, in order to ensure success, he declared his readiness to submit his past, as well as to conform his future conduct, to the King's sole judgment and direction.

His Majesty, on receiving this application, directed that a full statement of the Prince's affairs should be laid before him. This was done; but, for what reason has never hitherto been made known, his Majesty positively refused to grant the Prince the relief he sued for. That the King, whose own habits were those of strict economy and morality, was offended at the real or supposed extravagance of the Prince of Wales, is evident not only from his refusal to afford his Royal Highness any assistance, but also from the circumstance of his Majesty's conveyance of that refusal through one of his principal officers of state, and not, as on former occasions of this nature, by a direct and personal communication.

Every one must applaud the measures adopted by his Royal Highness on the receipt of this message from the King. With an example worthy of imitation, the Prince, the very day afterwards, dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced his establishment to that of a private gentleman. He also ordered his horses to be sold, the works at

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Carlton House to be discontinued, and all such parts as were not necessary for his personal use, to be instantly shut up. His expenses were thus reduced to 5000*l.* a-year, and the rest of his income was appropriated to the discharge of his debts, amounting to about 250,000*l.* This was in July, 1786.

This determination, however, savouring, perhaps, of some degree of petulance, at least in the hasty manner in which the Prince appeared resolved to carry it into execution, had no tendency to allay, but possibly to increase, the anger of the King: for, on the providential escape of his Majesty from an attempt to assassinate him, by Margaret Nicholson, a lunatic, which was made about this time, no official communication was made of that important event to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and when, after having heard of it by a private individual, he hastened to present his congratulations to the King at Windsor, he was admitted to the presence of the Queen only: a circumstance strongly indicative of his Majesty's feelings and sentiments concerning the Prince's conduct.

Thus harassed in his mind, and frustrated in his views of emancipation without an appeal to the public, his Royal Highness was strongly urged by several leading members of the House of Commons to throw himself and his affairs on the generosity of the nation. To this measure, it was said, the Prince at length assented.

This, however, was a plan of relief which would

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be attended with considerable difficulty and delicacy indeed. If opposed and persisted in, it would probably lead to "disclosures" (—a very portentous and awful word!—) relative to many circumstances connected with the Prince's debts, and the manner and cause of their having been contracted, which would make no very favourable impression on the public mind. Mr. Alderman Newnham, however, in the House of Commons, demanded of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether his Majesty's ministers had any intention to bring forward a proposition to rescue the Prince of Wales from his embarrassed situation. For, observed the alderman, though the Prince's conduct, under the difficulties with which he laboured, reflected the highest honour on his character, he thought it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances; his debts then amounting to 193,648*l.*

To this Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty, as a servant of the King, to make any motion, or to bring forward this subject in any way, unless he had previously received his Majesty's command to that effect. Mr. Newnham, therefore, gave notice of his intention to bring the subject regularly before the House on the 4th of May, 1787.

In the mean time, the Prince's friends were not idle in canvassing for support amongst the independent members of Parliament.

The ministers, however, were evidently averse

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to the subject being publicly discussed in Parliament; and, on the 24th of the same month, Mr. Pitt requested that Mr. Alderman Newnham would inform the House more particularly of the motion he intended to make, at the same time, adverting to the extreme delicacy of the subject, he declared, that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it, made him extremely anxious to persuade the House, if possible, to prevent the discussion of it. Should, however, the honourable member persist in his determination to bring it forward, it would be absolutely necessary to lay those circumstances before the public; and, however distressing it might prove to him, as an individual, from the profound respect he entertained for every part of the royal family, he should discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject.

On the 27th Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the request that had been made, signified to the House, that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect: "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration, the present state of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the House would make good the same."

Although the question was not then regularly before the House, the notice of the motion produced a warm debate; and, on the 30th, Mr. Alderman Newnham rose to make a few observations

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on what had passed during those debates. A violent altercation ensued, and on the following day overtures were made to his Royal Highness to bring the business to a private accommodation.

A few days after this Mr. Pitt had an audience with the Prince at Carlton House; and, the same night, his Royal Highness was informed, in general terms by his Majesty's command, that if the motion, intended to be made the next day in the House of Commons, should be withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his Highness's satisfaction.

Accordingly, Mr. Newnham, being in his place in the House, in which upwards of four hundred members were assembled, rose and said he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the House, that his intended motion was no longer necessary, and here the matter ended, as far, at least, as the public were concerned, or rather made acquainted with.

Who does not recognise, in these transactions, some similarity between them and certain recent events? But I must not anticipate the facts of this history. Recrimination is the meanest and most contemptible of all attempts at justification; but there are cases in which to retort on an opponent may not only be just, but necessary for self-defence. As, however, I have undertaken to write a *Life* of the present Queen, and not either a defence or otherwise, of her Majesty's conduct, I may well be excused every thing in the shape of dispute or recrimination.

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Notwithstanding the arrangements that had been made for the adjustment and liquidation of the Prince of Wales's debts in 1787, on the 27th April, 1795, a message from the King was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, mentioning other debts. This message stated the reliance of his Majesty upon their liberality and affection, for enabling him to settle an establishment on the Prince and his august Bride suited to their rank and dignity; that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to the Prince, till he was relieved from his present encumbrances to a large amount; but that his Majesty did not propose to his Parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income that may be settled on the Prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a proper and regular arrangement in the Prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

This suggestion naturally reminded the House that, on the former occasion, only eight years before, it was distinctly stated, that "his Majesty had received, from his Royal Highness the strongest assurances that no such embarrassment should again occur." Accordingly, when Mr. Pitt moved, for a committee to consider of the King's message, Colonel Stanley moved for reading the address to the House on the 24th of May, 1787. Upon this

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being done, he observed, that the House had already liberally paid the debts of the Prince; and he wished for a call of the House, that the attendance, upon an affair of such importance, might be as full as possible. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who stated that it was not his Majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the principal debts, but to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament, to their gradual discharge. An establishment for the Prince had long been a matter of general expectation. In a provision to be made for supporting the dignity and splendour of the Prince of Wales, it was certainly necessary to remove from his affairs all clogs and embarrassments. Comparing the grants made to the grandfather of his Royal Highness, at a time when the scale of expense was infinitely less, the sum to be now proposed was comparatively small. He enlarged upon the necessity of supporting the dignity and splendour of the royal family in every branch; and that, on a subject of such general obviousness, there was no necessity for a call of the House.

Whatever was the mode in which this business was to be performed, it was contended, by Mr. Grey, that it was, in fact, a provision from Parliament for paying the debts of the Prince. This had been stated as only an additional income to his Royal Highness; which had a tendency to mislead the public; and as it could ultimately make no difference to them, he thought it best at

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once to pay the debts, and to create a tax avowedly and specifically for this purpose. From a review of the burdens laid, and to be laid, upon the people, he objected to the statement which had been made, that the sum proposed was not greater than the House would be disposed to grant to support his honour and dignity, even if he had no debt. That dignity and that honour would, he said, be best supported by the Prince showing a feeling heart for the distresses of the poor. A long conversation took place respecting this second application of the Prince, and in the course of it, Mr. Sumner thought, that, before the House consented to discharge any fresh obligations incurred by his Royal Highness, it was incumbent upon them to know how their former grants had been applied. Such a retrospect was not, however, thought necessary.

The extent of the debts was stated at between 6 and 700,000*l*, no part of which could be defrayed out of the civil list, as so many charges had lately fallen upon that. He expatiated upon the interest which the House had in preserving the hereditary succession, and in supporting the character of the hereditary house of Brunswick. Before the House gave way to heat or resentment, they would do well to consider, that in the issue of the discussion were involved the credit of the hereditary monarchy, and consequently the safety of the country. To this it was shortly replied by Mr. Martin, that the way which appeared best calculated for the preser-

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vation of the hereditary monarchy, was to prevent it from being oppressive to the people.

The further consideration of the Prince's debts was resumed on the 14th of May, when Mr. Hussey proposed that the reports of the commissioners on the state of the crown-lands should be referred to the present committee. The motion was, however, objected to, as not proper in the present stage of the proceeding, and irrelevant to the subject, and was accordingly negatived; and the House proceeded to take into consideration the message from his Majesty relative to the establishment of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the liquidation of the debts of the Prince.

After an animated exordium, in which the immediate interest of the country, in supporting the dignity and splendour of the royal family, was strongly insisted upon by Mr. Pitt, he proceeded to state the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the Prince, and a jointure for her Royal Highness. These were the only objects to which he wished to direct the consideration of the committee. The present income of the Prince was 60,000*l.* a-year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which was about 13,000*l.* per annum. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, then Prince of Wales, possessed a net income of 100,000*l.* per annum, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great grandfather, then Prince of Wales, had 100,000*l.* without that duchy. From a review of these establishments, the House

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would see that his present Royal Highness ought to have a considerable addition, even if he was not encumbered with debt. The difference of expense, between the former period and the present time, amounted, he thought, to at least one-fourth of the whole income. He therefore proposed that the income of his Royal Highness should be 125,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. This was no more, he thought, than the committee would be disposed to allow to the Prince on the event of a marriage which they approved and rejoiced in. Here, he said, rested the present question: with respect to regulations to be made hereafter, he should state the preparations for the marriage at 27,000*l.* or 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* for finishing Carlton House. The jointure of the Princess to be 50,000*l.* a-year. The debts of his Royal Highness, which were for future consideration, he stated at nearly 630,000*l.* up to the last April quarter; besides which, there were some debts in which he was security for his brother; but, from their meritorious exertions, such debts were in such a train of liquidation, and a course of punctual discharge, that there was no fear of their becoming burdensome to the public. He wished to take the sense of the House on the best mode of freeing his Royal Highness from his encumbrances, and was convinced, that, before the House should take any step for their liquidation, they ought to be clearly stated for accurate investigation; and for this purpose he wished to know whether the

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House would prefer a secret committee, which was the most expeditious mode, or whether they would leave the whole to be settled under a legislative provision. Whatever mode was adopted, it was necessary that regard should be had to a provision against contracting debts in future. It was, he thought, necessary that Parliament should mark the sense they entertained of the manner in which his Royal Highness had incurred his present embarrassments; and in that view the liquidation of the debt might properly be a tax on the affluence of the Prince. He should, therefore, in a future stage of this proceeding, propose certain provisions for liquidating the debts out of the duchy of Cornwall, and the other income of his Royal Highness, certain parts of which should be vested in the hands of commissioners, to discharge the debt and interest at four per cent., except such as bore legal interest at five. For this purpose he proposed 25,000*l.* a year should be set apart, which would discharge the debt in about twenty-seven years. In case of the demise of the Prince of Wales within that time, 25,000*l.* would be charged annually on that succession; but in the event of the demise of the crown and of his Royal Highness within that time, the burden must fall on the consolidated fund. There were, he said, two heads to be attended to in the business under consideration,—the punctual payment of the debts already contracted,—and that no further debts should be incurred. For this purpose, no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond

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the quarter,—that debts not then claimed should wholly lapse,—that debts thus claimed should be punctually paid, and no other. Mr. Pitt further proposed to invest Carlton House in the crown for ever, that the furniture should be considered as an heirloom; and that all suits, for recovery of debts from his Royal Highness, should lie against his officers. He concluded by moving, that his Majesty be enabled to appropriate 65,000*l.* annually, as an establishment for the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Grey professed himself equally a friend to the real dignity and splendour of the monarchy with Mr. Pitt. That the Prince of Wales ought to have an establishment on the present occasion, there could be no doubt; nor was there a doubt that it would be granted by the people; but the stability of the monarchy did not depend upon establishments; and there might be occasions in which to relinquish them would be attended with more real dignity than could be derived from the greatest splendour and expense. With respect to increasing the present income of his Royal Highness in proportion to the difference which had taken place between the incomes of former princes of Wales, on account of the general increase of expense, persons, in apportioning the rate of their expenses, must consider the means whence it was to be drawn. If the estate, which was the source of the income, was burdened with debt, a consequent necessity must arise for a curtailment of expense. In a period of such public distress as the

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present, was it proper to exceed the profusion of former periods? and would the legislature sanction the general habit of expense, which threatened the subversion even of the constitution itself? It was this habit which annihilated the independence of the rich, and aggravated the miseries of the poor. The striking effects of this system, in another country, ought to inculcate the necessity of moderation in the present moment. The establishment of the late Prince of Wales, for several years after his marriage, amounted only to 50,000*l.* it was not increased till after his family were grown up; and no application was made to Parliament for the payment of his debts. Mr. Grey remarked several inconsistencies in the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer respecting the Prince's affairs. The original income of his Royal Highness, including the duchy of Cornwall, was 63,000*l.* Afterwards, when his debts were discharged, and an addition of 10,000*l.* made to his income, that gentleman had stated it as so ample, as to put it beyond doubt that he was in a capacity of maintaining the establishment due to his rank; yet, though the accounts on the table, relative to the necessary increase of expense, did not exceed 12,000*l.*, he proposed an addition to the establishment, to the amount of 65,000*l.* This sum he thought disproportionate, and more than the House ought to grant. He was willing, however, to go the length of the liberality of former times. As to the encumbrances of the Prince, the part he had taken on a former occasion

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compelled him to resist the smallest claim that could be made in the present instance. If a sum had been accumulated out of the savings of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince,—if a resource could be presented by a reduction of these trappings of state which encumbered without adorning monarchy,—or if any aid could be derived from the great savings which were stated to have taken place during the indisposition of a great personage,—he was astonished that any application should now be made to Parliament. From disapprobation of the mode in which the debts were contracted, and as the only way to prevent similar demands, he wished to make no provision for them. By the statement of so large a sum as necessary for the establishment of the Prince, and nothing done to lessen the scale of expenditure, he thought an encouragement was held out, or an excuse provided, for the contraction of new debts. Great regard had been professed for the dignity of his Royal Highness; but what could be more degrading to him, than to tie him down in the mode proposed? The best dignity, and the truest greatness, was integrity of character, without which no respect for rank or greatness would long avail. The best means for the House to pursue, was to grant the Prince a suitable income, but refuse entering into any discussion of the debts. He was sensible of, and lamented, the inconvenience which this would produce to the Prince of Wales: but unfortunately there was only a choice of evils; and

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this was the least. Let him retire to a situation where he might, by reflection, qualify himself for the duties of his future station, and endeavour to come to a composition with his creditors, who, in such a case, would be satisfied with easy terms; and would not there even then be a sufficient provision for the comfort of two persons who had other resources to look to? Mr. Grey concluded by moving, that, instead of 65,000*l.* an additional sum of 40,000*l.* should be granted to his Royal Highness.

The original motion was supported by Mr. Lambton, as including every advantage which could be obtained from the present discussion. The amendment must either put the Prince in a situation to contract fresh debts, or exile him from the metropolis; and, in his situation, an intercourse with all ranks of people was necessary. He considered the income as not granted from personal considerations, but loyalty to his illustrious house. Part of the present evil, he said, resulted from an ill-judged parsimony in the first instance. When the income of the Prince was only 50,000*l.* they paid his debts, from the estimate of which, it might have been perceived he was spending 100,000*l.*: those who had once got into debt, and found it easy to supply from their credit, were more and more inclined to plunge into the vortex; for the truth of which, he appealed to many who were then present. No comparison could, he thought, be instituted between any imprudence imputable to his Royal

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Highness, and the extravagance of the French princes.

The necessity of economy, moderation, and prudence, at the present crisis, was strongly recommended by Mr. Curwen; and the same arguments were enforced by Mr. Burdon. It was observed by Mr. W. Smith, that the sums given to former princes of Wales had been granted from the civil list. He thought that splendour and dignity had been often confounded in the course of the debate. Splendour, on some occasions, might add to dignity; but, in others, dignity might be most effectually consulted by an abatement of splendour.

Mr. Fox admitted the necessity of supporting the splendour of the crown as an essential part of the constitution, but did not understand calling it, as it had been called, the centre of the constitution. He did not regard the establishments of former princes of Wales as the most creditable part of the history of the house of Brunswick. The establishment of George II. when Prince of Wales, had been a mere matter of party; still more so was that of his son. The establishment of the latter had been 60,000*l.* when he happened to differ in opinion from his Majesty's ministers, and 100,000*l.* when he agreed with them. Mr. Fox delicately adverted to the suspicious circumstances in which such a transaction placed that prince, and wished the House to avoid such a conduct as might expose the Prince of Wales to similar suspicions. He blamed the scantiness of the former income

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granted to his Royal Highness, and exculpated himself for having concurred in it on the ground of its having been an experiment, and that great deference was due to his Majesty, who gave 50,000*l.* a-year out of the civil list. A few years afterwards, other ministers advised his Majesty to apply to Parliament to exonerate the civil list from this allowance. In 1787, provision was made by Parliament for paying the debts of his Royal Highness; and 10,000*l.* a-year was added to his income. This he thought insufficient, but could not oppose it, after both his Majesty and the Prince had declared that it was sufficient. The declaration of his Royal Highness, that he would not again apply to Parliament, had greatly surprised him; it was, however, a promise which, in honour, he thought him obliged to keep. It was, however, the opinion of ministers, that 60,000*l.* a-year, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall, was sufficient for reinstating the Prince in all his splendour. Upon what principle, then, did they now say that 125,000*l.* a-year was necessary? This, he thought, could not arise from his marriage,—a circumstance which, whatever change it made in the lower classes, very little altered the expenses of those in superior life. How then could those who, in 1787, said 73,000*l.* a-year was sufficient, say that 138,000*l.* must be necessary now? It seemed that, like his grandfather, ministers measured the extent of his allowance by the degree of approbation he bestowed upon their measures. He was not actuated by the

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same motives, and should therefore vote for the larger sum, providing that no similar application should be made to Parliament in future. Was the Prince of Wales the first example the House would select for reform, or, in some sort, for punishment? It would ill become him to be very pointed in his disapprobation of imprudent expenses in others; but he would say to Westminster, to the public at large, "if you complain of increased habits of expense, begin the reformation by reforming yourselves." Considering the influence allowed to the crown, was it seemly to act harshly and austerely towards a prince who had no such influence? Something on this occasion might, he thought, have been spared from the civil list. Queen Anne, from a civil list of 600,000*l.* gave 100,000*l.* towards the support of the war. George I. out of 700,000*l.* a-year, gave 100,000*l.* for the establishment of his heirs: and George II. the same sum. In the American war, Parliament paid a large debt for the civil list, and added to it 100,000*l.* a-year. The sum for the privy purse had been gradually increased from 36,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* a-year. Why should not the establishment of the Prince be proportionably increased? After the promise given in 1787, and that no engagement appeared on the part of his Royal Highness against future calls of the same nature, he was averse to noticing the debts. On account merely of the Princess of Wales, for whom the House, by its addresses, was pledged to make a

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suitable provision, would be absent to relieving the Prince from his embarrassments, but not without a sinking fund for liquidating the debts within a reasonable time. The small sum proposed by the minister for liquidating his debts, the payment of which would take twenty-seven years, he thought only exposed the Prince to injurious reflections on the part of the public: relinquishing part of his state for the present, would leave a sum for the payment of his debts in a short time, at the end of which the public would gain a beloved and respected Prince of Wales; and his future years must be prosperous indeed, if he counted the years of his probation as the least happy of his life. For this purpose he wished the Prince to give up 65,000*l.* a-year, with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, for the discharge of his debts. The sale of the duchy would effect this much sooner, and without expense to the public. He had been informed it would sell for 800,000*l.* he would state it at 600,000*l.* and the Prince's life interest in it at 200,000*l.* There would then only remain 320,000*l.* of debt, which the fund he had mentioned would pay off in three or four years. Mr. Fox strongly advised precautions for the prevention of future debts, provided they were applied to all future kings and princes; but thought there were inconveniences, in making the officers of the Prince responsible for his debts, which could not be obviated. Again he urged the propriety of his Majesty having come forward, and asked whether

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it was for the interest of regular governments that monarchs should never appear to feel any portion of the public adversity. He charged successive ministers with having appropriated the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall to the civil list during the minority of the Prince. It was, he said, a miserable plea, that they had been expended on his education. Would any man of fortune, whose son had a distinct income, charge him with the expenses of his education? Upon its being objected by Mr. Wilberforce, that the sale of the duchy of Cornwall would be as much an expense to the public as taking money in any other way, Mr. Fox stated, that a life interest, which might be valued, belonged to the Prince, the reversion to the public, and would still be at their disposal. On a division for Mr. Grey's amendment, the noes were 260, ayes 99. On a division for repairing Carlton House, there were against it 99, and for it 248. For the expenses of the marriage 241, against it 100.

On the 28th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer gave notice, that he should, on the Monday following, move a proposition, by way of instruction to the committee, for setting apart a sum from the income voted, for the liquidation of the debts. To this Mr. Powis observed, that it was necessary to regulate the prevention of future debts, as well as the liquidation of those already contracted, and professed his disappointment that no communication had been made to the House

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from the person most immediately interested in the business. This produced, on the 1st of June, a message from the Prince of Wales, which was brought down by Mr. Anstruther, and stated that his Royal Highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the House, both with respect to his future expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him, for the discharge of his debts: his wish was entirely to consult the wisdom of Parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in any abatement of splendour they might judge necessary; and desired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially disposed to think he ought to have; in fine, that whatever measures were taken by Parliament, would meet with his hearty concurrence.

The chancellor of the exchequer congratulated the House upon the loyalty always shown by them, the vigilant care with which they guarded the money of their constituents, and the propriety of the communication from his Royal Highness, and concluded by moving that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill relative to a general regulation of the expenditure of his Royal Highness, and an appropriation of part of his income for the discharge of his debts. This was opposed by Mr. Duncombe, who disapproved of the interference of Parliament in the discharge of the Prince's debts, and declared that he looked to other resources for this purpose,—the justice of

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his Royal Highness to provide for the payment of his just debts,—his future economy in the regulation of his household,—and the munificence of his Majesty. The latter of these resources was still further adverted to by Mr. Curwen, who regretted that no communication had been made on this subject from the highest source. Mr. Bastard, Mr. Sturt, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Grey, still further opposed the payment of the debts. The latter gentleman, in strong terms, blamed ministers for not having taken care to enforce the assurance formerly given to the House, and charged them with an attempt to confound the present question, as the additional sum, beyond what had been granted to former princes, certainly was given with a view to the discharge of the debt. Many means were, he said, in the possession of an illustrious personage; and from regard to his family, and to royalty, it might be hoped he would come forward with his assistance; the latter of which, he observed, "can only be best preserved by rendering it as little as possible oppressive to the people."

The conduct of ministers on this occasion was vindicated by Mr. Dundas, who stated, that, as the House had already decided for an income of 125,000*l.*, the motion merely was, whether the whole should be left to the disposal of the Prince, or whether the expenditure should be put under regulations with a view to the gradual extinction of the debts. It was impossible the House should

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refuse to comply with the request of the Prince of Wales, to apply his income in such a way by legislative regulations as would be most conducive to his dignity and personal comfort, and the security of his creditors. With respect to the assistance referred to, the House had frequently had occasion to see the situation of his Majesty respecting the civil list, particularly on occasions of granting establishments to the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of York on his marriage; part of the provision formally made for the payment of his Royal Highness's debts arose from the liberality of his Majesty. The civil list was wholly appropriated to particular purposes, except the sum allotted for his Majesty's privy purse. He knew not of the existence of any such sum as had been referred to, and stated the numerous family of his Majesty: the Prince of Wales, he said, was the last who might be supposed to have such a claim, as, from the situation in which he stood, he was the peculiar care of the public.

A strict scrutiny into the nature of the debts was strongly recommended by several of the members, particularly Mr. Powis, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Fox was surprised at the opposition made to the present question; it was not calling upon the people to pay the debt in any degree, though it was clear that a request would come to call upon the public for security against the contingent demise of his Royal Highness. The motion merely enabled the Prince to set aside part

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of his income for the payment of his debts; which he could not do effectually without the aid of Parliament. Mr. Fox enlarged upon the glorious opportunity afforded in the present instance for the display of royal munificence, and lamented that his Majesty had not been advised to lead the way upon this occasion. Again he urged the sale of the duchy of Cornwall, on the triple motives of lessening the influence of the crown, of advantaging the people, and of relieving his Royal Highness from dependance on the crown. It was allowed by Mr. Anstruther, that Parliament had certainly the power of selling the duchy of Cornwall; but as the absolute property did not rest in the Prince of Wales, the House had an equal right to order the sale of any other estate. He denied that the duchy was worth nearly so much as had been represented.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. Sumner to leave out that part of the motion which appropriated any part of the income of the Prince to the payment of his debts; which was seconded by Mr. Grey, who again complained that those who, like him, had been willing to grant the Prince a suitable allowance, but thought the House had nothing to do with his debts, had not been fairly dealt with. Mr. Pitt vindicated himself from any intention of wishing to act unfairly; and in this he was supported by Mr. Fox, who urged that the House was not by this vote pledging itself to pay the debts. This opinion was dissented from by Mr. Sheridan, who censured the mode that had

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been pursued. The public never could believe that the minister would propose an annual income of 125,000*l.* for the Prince, without any reference to his debts. He wished no instructions to be given to the committee for the payment of the debts, yet thought they ought to be immediately paid, for the dignity of the country, and the situation of the Prince. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 114, and the original motion carried by a majority of 196.

On the 5th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up an account of the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince of Wales, an abstract of the debts,* and an account of the application of 25,000*l.* for finishing Carlton House. He then stated, that, previous to the question of what proportion of the Prince's income should be set apart for the payment of his debts, it was necessary for the House to ascertain whether they would incur the contingent risk of defraying such portion of those debts as should be

* Debts on various securities, and bearing interest	500,571	19	1
Amount of tradesmen's bills unpaid	86,745	0	0
Tradesmen's bills, and arrears of establishment from the 10th of October, 1794, to April 5, 1795	52,573	5	3
Total £639,890	4	4	

The several sums paid from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, from the 21st of July, 1763, to the 7th of May, 1783 amounted to 233,764*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

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unpaid in the event of the demise of his Royal Highness. It was his intention to move in the committee, that 65,000*l.* with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts, making an annual sum of 78,000*l.* The burden could not be thrown upon the civil list, which, in the event of the demise of the Prince, would be charged with the jointure of the Princess. He should therefore move, that the committee have a discretionary power to provide, out of the hereditary revenue of the crown (in case of the demise of his present Majesty) during the life of his Royal Highness, for the payment of his debts; and, in case of the demise of the Prince, to provide out of the consolidated fund for the payment of such sums as shall then remain unpaid. He explained, that for several reigns it had been thought proper to commute the hereditary revenue for a civil list. The mode he proposed, was the only one calculated to give security to the creditors, or, in the event of an accession to the throne, to render his Royal Highness responsible for the payment of his remaining debts.

The question, respecting the remainder of the debts being charged upon the hereditary revenue of the crown in the event of the demise of his Majesty, being carried, a spirited debate took place on moving the second instruction. Mr. Fox observed, that, before he consented to burden the people, he wished to know whether the grant would be effectual for the purpose for which it was demanded:

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—so far as he understood, there was no compulsion on the creditors to accept the terms now offered. He did not know how the duchy of Cornwall was to be got at as part of the sum appropriated for paying the debts, as he understood that the present income of his Royal Highness was conveyed in trust for the benefit of his creditors. He proposed to move, that, in case of the demise of the Prince, the remaining debts should be charged on the civil list, which had been increased by the death of the Princess Amelia. With respect to Parliament being bound to the payment of the Prince's debts because they had approved of his marriage, how much more was his Majesty an immediate party in the contract? *Mr. Pitt*, in reply, urged that though in case of the demise of the Prince, the civil list would be relieved from 60,000*l.* it would be liable to 50,000*l.* for her Royal Highness; that, if the Prince left issue, there must be a provision for the infant heir apparent, and that, if there was no issue, the Duke of York would succeed to the duchy of Cornwall, and an income of 40,000*l.*

In the course of the debate, the sale of the duchy of Cornwall was repeatedly insisted upon. General Smith inquired whether the accounts included the whole proceeds of the duchy during the minority of the Prince, and was answered in the affirmative by Mr. Anstruther, except the expense of the establishment, and a sum of 2500*l.* for public purposes in the county of Devon. The General remarked, that the estate of the duchy,

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under the guardianship of the court of chancery, would, during the minority, have produced 350,000*l.* and under the care of a gentleman, by being employed at compound interest, 380,000*l.* and at present would amount altogether to 600,000*l.* This revenue, Mr. Sheridan thought the Prince was entitled to from his birth, though he thought him right in not having made any claim upon his royal father; but the accumulated sum belonged neither to the King nor the Prince, but to the creditors of his Royal Highness. Mr. Jekyll contended that the legal opinion, that the Duke of York, in case of the demise of the Prince of Wales, would succeed of right to the duchy, was not a formal opinion, but one incidentally thrown out upon the interpretation of the word *primogenitus* in deciding on a different question. He conceived the commissioners to be appointed ought to inquire into the appropriation of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince. Sir John Scott on the other hand contended, that the Prince had only a life-estate in the duchy, and he doubted whether the revenue during the minority was to be accounted for. From the first grant of the duchy, the King had maintained the Prince of Wales till he thought proper to give him the livery of the duchy, which he might do at any age. This he contended for from the distinction between the tenure by knight's service and soccage. If the revenue, however, during the minority, was the property of the Prince, it certainly belonged to his

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creditors: if it had been applied to the general purposes of the civil list, the public ought to refund, since it was for their service.

Mr. Sheridan, in a speech of much length and uncommon eloquence, opposed taking any sum from the consolidated fund till every other resource had been tried; though he neither approved selling the duchy of Cornwall, nor the crown lands, as the latter would bind the House to grant in future the civil list for life. He forcibly urged the propriety of ministers having suggested to his Majesty the necessity of setting an example on the present occasion. Were, he asked, the expenses of the Prince so very unpardonable? His Majesty possessed many great and good qualities; but on the subject of expense and keeping his promise with the public, would the Prince suffer by a comparison? In this he imputed all the blame to ministers. On his Majesty's accession, the civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* a-year, which was then thought so ample, that Parliament was assured from the throne, that the civil list should not be suffered to run into arrears; since then, debts of the civil list had been paid to an amount, which, at compound interest, would exceed 7,000,000*l.* The chancellor of the exchequer had, in the early part of his administration, assured the House that no more debt should accrue on the civil list, yet soon after he called upon the House to pay a new debt. Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the embarrassments felt by the Prince on account of the nar-

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rowness of the income which had been fixed for him, during which his Royal Highness had often consulted him, chiefly because he knew his fixed determination to accept no favours; and he took this opportunity to declare publicly that he had never received any from him. Their intercourse had of late been less frequent; but he felt no less desire to do him justice: 160,000*l.* was paid for the Prince in 1787, 60,000*l.* for Carlton House, and 30,000*l.* more was voted to complete the building, which, on the investigation of a committee, was found to have been faithfully applied. All the money, from the date of his first establishment to the present day, did not exceed 75,000*l.* a-year, which was 25,000*l.* a-year less than ministers had originally thought his establishment ought to be. He had, he said, advised the Prince not to make the promise, from the improbability of its being kept. He had at that time drawn up a plan of retrenchment, which was approved by the Prince and by his Majesty; and the Prince told him, the promise was not to be insisted upon, though, to his great surprise, he found it inserted in the King's message which had been seen by his Royal Highness. The Prince wished him to retract it, but this he declined. Ministers had then a check upon the expenditure of the Prince, which they never enforced: they had never interposed to stop a shameless profusion of money upon Carlton House. Under these embarrassments, there was an attempt made to raise a loan for the Prince in foreign

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countries, which, after a conversation with Lord Loughborough, was put a stop to, and the bonds burned, though with considerable loss to the Prince. Another plan of retrenchment followed, and the Princess advised by Lord Thurlow and Mr. Sheridan, not again to apply to Parliament; to take no part in politics; to retire from public life, and apply the greatest part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. He was then told, by Lord Loughborough, that the advise savoured too much of that given to M. Egalité, and he could guess from what quarter it came. This plan was therefore relinquished; and the Prince, by the one now proposed, has neither the grace of suggesting the retrenchments, nor the checks upon his future conduct. He was set in a gilded pillory, and sent to do penance in an embroidered sheet. Something, he said, ought to be given by the King. There were debts due to honest tradesmen, to whom no exception could be taken, which ought not to be postponed. There were, on the establishment, gentlemen of honour, whose salaries were fourteen quarters in arrear. Carlton House being made the property of the public, the public ought to pay the expense of rebuilding it. This would reduce the debts to 500,000*l.* The interest of this, at 5 per cent. would be 25,000*l.* In 1777, the privy purse was made 60,000*l.* a-year, and the Queen received 50,000*l.* for her establishment. He should therefore expect 10,000*l.* a-year from the privy purse, and 5,000*l.* from the Queen's establishment:

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for the remaining 10,000*l.* a year, he would look to places and sinecures, taking them as they fell, which in time would form a fund for paying off even the principal. Mr. Sheridan then proposed an amendment, that nothing should be charged upon the sinking fund till it should be found that the resources he had indicated were insufficient.

Mr. Dundas greatly preferred the security being upon the consolidated fund rather than on the civil list. The expectations of the King contributing towards the payment of the debts, were, he thought, very foolish, and not to be gratified. He ridiculed the proposal which had been made, of making the allowance of the civil list annual. Mr. W. Smith desired a message in the reign of George I. might be read, were 5,000,000*l.* were charged upon the civil list, and contended that what was then done would show the propriety of doing the same now. The debate was concluded by Mr. Sturt, who thought the question was, whether the House, after the solemn pledge given by the Prince in 1787, not to incur debts, would now agree to pay them?

The amendment of Mr. Sheridan being withdrawn, on a division of the House, there appeared in favour of Mr. Pitt's motion 148, against it 93.

On the motion of Mr. Pitt, the annual sum of 65,000*l.* was appropriated to the revenue of the Prince out of the consolidated fund, by a majority of 93 against 68. A conversation then took place respecting the appropriation of an annual sum out

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of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, towards paying the debts of his Royal Highness, and whether the consent of the Duke of York was not necessary, which occasioned instructions to the committee for this purpose, during the time that his Majesty or his Royal Highness shall be interested in that revenue. The commitment of the bill was opposed by Mr. Whitbread, as containing provisions degrading and disgraceful to the Prince, who was, however, stated by Mr. Lambton to be perfectly satisfied with its principles, and in general approving the restrictions. Mr. Powis and Mr. Fox thought many points still remained to be discussed before the subject was sufficiently matured for the decision of the House. What Mr. Fox particularly objected to was, that the income of the Prince was, he feared, laid under the management and approbation of the minister. He further objected to considering the furniture of Carlton House as an heir-loom, as unfair to the Prince and to his creditors. The sale of the duchy of Cornwall was again strongly recommended by several members, particularly Mr. Sheridan, who opposed the commitment. The House, however, went into a committee, when it was moved, to allow the Prince 65,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, limiting the sum to 40,000*l.*, which was negatived by a large majority. Another amendment was proposed by Sir W. Young, that the annuity should be paid out of the civil list; but upon the question for taking it out of the consc-

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lidated fund, the ayes were 149, noes 16: 27,000*l.* were also granted on account of the marriage of his Royal Highness, and 27,000*l.* for finishing the repairs of Carlton House. On the report of the Prince of Wales's establishment bill being read, General Smith proposed to appropriate, out of the sum allowed to his Royal Highness, 1250*l.* per quarter, for the private use of the Princess of Wales; which was negatived.

The arrears of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince, which had been so frequently adverted to in the preceding debates, were again made the subject of discussion by General Smith, on reading the report. He moved a clause for inquiry into the amount of the revenue during that time, with a view to its being applicable to the liquidation of his Royal Highness's debts. The attorney-general admitted that he had been inaccurate on a former night respecting the tenure of that duchy, which was of a nature so difficult and peculiar, that it was very difficult for him to describe. It was a fund set apart by the legislature for the support of the Prince of Wales, who had very properly been represented as *major a die nativitatis*. The right of the Prince was extremely difficult to ascertain; if it was a fund for his support from his birth, the King, as his guardian, had the disposal of the fund during his minority; and the long period which had since occurred, would render any claim on the part of the Prince extremely doubtful. To this it was added by Mr. Pitt, that if any claim

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existed, it was on the part of the public. The revenue had been applied in aid of the civil list, and as such had been recognised by Parliament. If this was a fund for the support of the state and dignity of the Prince, it was certainly intended that the appropriation of this fund should prevent any expense from falling on the civil list, or the public. Who would then have a right to set off against the income any expense, incurred on account of the Prince? The expense of his education had been 80,000*l.* with an extraordinary expense of 3,000*l.*, this included the Duke of York: but as the same preceptors would have been necessary for the Prince, this made a trifling addition. In 1783, 60,000*l.* was granted to defray the expenses of his outset: in 1787, his debts were paid to the amount of 219,000*l.* These united made 300,000*l.* and would be deducted from the proceeds, if they were to be adjudged to him during his minority. Mr. W. Grant contended that the Prince had no legal claim to the revenue of the duchy during his minority.

With respect to the duchy being a fund for the support of the Prince of Wales, Mr. Fox contended that this was not the only fund conceived necessary, since the principality of Wales, and the earldom of Chester, had been granted for the same purpose. Natural feeling, he said, required that the King, like other fathers, should be charged with the education of his son: and because Parliament had paid a debt of 600,000*l.* it was not to be inferred that they would with the same facility pay 800,000*l.*

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He thought it of the utmost importance to ascertain what was due to the Prince. The expense of his education, and that of the Duke of York, as appeared by a paper on the table, for a term of years, had been 40,000*l.*, of which 25,000*l.* at most could be charged to the account of the Prince, though at the same time the revenue of the duchy was 75,000*l.* The 60,000*l.* voted in 1783 was not for the Prince, but in aid of the civil list; and of this the Prince did not receive more than 20,000*l.* On a fair calculation, it would be found that he had not received more than 100,000*l.* above his regular income; and the revenue of the duchy during his minority, with interest, amounted to 500,000*l.* On a division, there appeared for the motion 40, against it 97.

A bill for preventing future princes of Wales from incurring debt was presented by Sir W. Pulteney, and passed the House; and the jointure of the PRINCESS was settled at 50,000*l.* a-year.

Previous to the second reading of the bill for settling an establishment on the Prince of Wales, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Lauderdale, on the 22d of June, proposed calling in the opinion of the law lords, respecting some points involved in the bill, particularly the right of the King, or Prince, to the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall. The right of the Prince he apprehended to be acknowledged by the act of Edward III. by subsequent legal determinations, and by the 33d of Henry VI.; and at that time the duchy was understood to be

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the property of the Prince; for Parliament passed that very act to allow the King to receive the proceeds, on condition of his allowing aliment, &c. to the Prince, till he arrived at the age of fourteen. The questions his lordship wished to ask, were, 1st, What estate the Prince has in the duchy of Cornwall? 2d, When did that estate vest in him? 3d, When did he become entitled to receive the property? 4th, Was the King entitled to receive the proceeds to his own use, without account or consideration of maintaining his Royal Highness during his minority?

The bill was read a second time on the 24th of June, and Lord Cholmondeley brought down a message from his Royal Highness similar to that sent to the Commons. The principle of the bill was strongly objected to by the Duke of Clarence, who pointedly censured ministers for depriving his royal brother of the least popularity in the measure, in order to obtain it for themselves. The bill to prevent future princes of Wales from contracting debts, was attended with a marked personality to his Royal Highness. When the marriage of the Prince of Wales was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should be exonerated from his debts. From such a stipulation, was it to be expected that the debts were to be left hanging over him for the space of nine years or longer? Was this a method to support his dignity and independence? The Prince had certainly acquiesced in whatever measures were taken by the wisdom of Parliament.

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How could he do otherwise? Advantage had been taken of the difficulties in which he was involved, to procure this from him. He was forced to express his acquiescence, that something might be done. His Royal Highness pointedly censured the pamphlets that had been written, and the expressions made use of in the other House, to the prejudice of the Prince. Persons who had great powers of eloquence, and abundant choice of animated expressions, had exerted their powers in obtaining a subsidy for the King of Sardinia of 200,000*l.* a-year, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* to the King of Prussia, and the loan of 4,600,000 to the Emperor; but when the business of his brother was to be brought forward, it was prefaced by "an unpleasant task,"—"an arduous undertaking,"—"the regret of laying additional burdens on the people." Had they, however, spared this, they would not have had one vote the less. His Royal Highness remarked on the unpleasant situation of the PRINCESS OF WALES, and added, that, in the event of her having children, the movers of the bill must be obliged to come forward with amendments.

The commitment of the bill was moved by Lord Grenville. The Duke of Bedford thought the reflections cast upon his Royal Highness had too much of asperity, and remarked upon the inconsistency of voting away millions in the prosecution of a war said to be in support of the throne, and refusing to grant a few hundred thousands for supporting the dignity of the heir apparent. There

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were many circumstances, his Grace remarked, in extenuation of the errors of the Prince. It was observed, in a speech of considerable length, by the Earl of Lauderdale, that 500,000*l.* had been paid for Queen Anne,—George I. had 1,300,000*l.* extraordinary allowed him,—George II. about 1,500,000*l.*,—and this at a time when the public revenue was less by millions than at present.

Lord Grenville warmly defended the conduct of ministers, though the blame, if any, upon a former occasion, could not attach to him, as he then held, he said, no official situation. The Duke of Clarence, in reply, stated that his lordship was minister in 1792, when there was a statement of facts on the encumbrances of the Prince presented to a certain quarter. His lordship, however, declined replying, and observed there could be no debate where there was no equality.

The principle of the bill was opposed by the Marquis of Buckingham, as burdening the consolidated fund, without eventually relieving the Prince. The creditors of his Royal Highness, also, were not bound to come in and state their claims, and would be mad if they did so, as they must stand a chance of losing their debts, if they lost the vouchers and documents for them. At least they must be subject to have them re-examined, and, if allowed, only receive a debenture, on which there would be a discount of five per cent. The bill was strongly defended by the Earl of Caernarvon, and the commitment agreed to by

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the Earls of Guildford and Moira to avoid the inconveniences which the Prince must otherwise suffer, and in consequence of the message received from the Prince. The promise formerly given by his Royal Highness, was stated by Lord Moira to have been slightly read to him, and made by him under the expectation of having 100,000*l.* a-year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. His lordship reprobated the calumnies circulated against the Prince, and, in refutation of them, stated the willingness of his Royal Highness to have every part of his debts publicly known. He censured the mode of appointing the commissioners, in the choice of whom the Prince had no part, but professed his intention of not opposing the present bill, as he trusted, such was its absurdity, that Parliament and the public would soon set it aside.

A further conversation upon the bill took place in the committee, in which the different arguments for and against the measure were enforced. In the course of it Lord Thurlow complained of the grossly libellous pamphlets which had appeared against the Prince, and hoped the authors, whether pensioners or not, would be brought to condign punishment. On the whole, he thought the bill so defective, that it must be hereafter amended.

On the 26th of June, the bills for preventing future princes of Wales from contracting debts,—for granting an establishment to his Royal Highness,—and for granting a jointure to the Princess of Wales, were read and passed.

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In the course of these discussions relative to the payment of the Prince of Wales's debts, the Duke of Clarence, in the House of Lords, stated, that it was a matter of public notoriety, that when the Prince's marriage was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should, in the event of that union, be exonerated from his debts. Speaking of the Princess, he described her as "a lovely and amiable woman, torn from her family; for though," he continued, "her mother is the King's sister, she may still be said to be torn from her family, by being removed from all her early connections. What must be her feelings from such circumstances attendant on her reception in a country where she had a right to expect every thing befitting her high rank, and the exalted station to which she was called?"

Although the Prince's income was now augmented to 125,000*l.*, and his debts all in a train of being discharged, his Royal Highness very laudably resolved to adopt an economical mode of living; but it was generally reported that the plan which the Prince had laid down for his future expenditure and establishment, was by no means agreeable to the Princess. For this supposition, however, it does not appear that there existed any very good grounds. She has never discovered any particular predilection for expensive establishments; and when, on a much later occasion, Parliament had voted her 50,000*l.* a-year, she would accept only of 35,000*l.*, such an instance of candour and liberality may very

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well be adduced as an answer to those who have charged her Royal Highness with extravagance, or a reluctance that the Prince, her husband, should adopt plans of economy.

As soon as the Prince of Wales had resolved to contract his household expenditure, he commanded Lord Cholmondeley to send a circular letter to all the ladies and gentlemen on the establishment of the Prince and Princess of Wales, stating that there would be no further occasion for their services. To this general order, there were, of course, some necessary exceptions; amongst these were the four ladies of the bed-chamber: viz. the Marchioness of Townshend, the Countesses of Caernarvon, Cholmondeley, and Jersey, the Earl of Jersey, and Generals Hulse and Lake, with some others. The salaries of the attendants were paid up to the 5th of July. The Earl of Jersey, as master of the horse, had a salary of 1200*l.* a-year, and the Earl of Cholmondeley, as master of the household, had his salary fixed at 2000*l.* per annum; but his lordship, with a disinterestedness strongly marking his affection for the Prince, his master, wrote a letter, in which he declared his readiness to serve him without any emolument, and his determination not to accept of any salary for the performance of a duty which he was proud to execute gratuitously.

From this time the Prince continued to live a retired life. His popularity, however, was not very great, although it was generally understood that his political principles were favourable to the Whigs,

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who, whether truly so called or not, were then usually denominated the friends of liberty.

In perfect accordance with this frugal plan of living, her Royal Highness but seldom appeared in public. She visited the winter theatres only twice, and now and then made her appearance at the Opera. It was not, however, solely owing to these economical arrangements that the Princess of Wales lived so much retired. Whatever appearance of levity and gaiety of manners she might have seen indulged at her father's court, in that country, as at present in Scotland, it was not deemed quite decent for a female to appear much in public, after it became known that she was advanced in pregnancy, which was the case with her Royal Highness soon after her marriage. But of this more hereafter.

The busy tongue of scandal soon began to exert its baneful influence; and there were not wanting *ladies* about her person whose envious and malignant disposition prompted them to sow the early seeds of discord, and to endeavour, by the most insidious arts and manœuvres, to foment a quarrel between the newly wedded royal pair.

The commissioners appointed to inquire into and discharge the Prince's debts, objected to certain accounts brought by a Mr. Jefferys, a jeweller in the Strand, who, some time afterwards, published a most severe and indecent pamphlet, intituled "A Review of the Conduct of the Prince of Wales in his various transactions with Mr. Jefferys during a period of more than twenty years." In this pam-

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phlet it was asserted, that part of his demand was cash lent for the use of Mrs. Fitzherbert, after the royal nuptials had taken place. It was not till the year 1808 that this offensive publication actually made its appearance. The author, however, in the mean time, did not fail to make it known, as soon as he found that his accounts were disputed, that, to use a familiar phrase, the Prince of Wales was no better than he should be. Rumours and reports of the most offensive kind were whispered in the ears of her Royal Highness; and when her natural vivacity of temper and candour of disposition led her to join in the gossip of the day, and to appear to acquiesce in what was told her, some of the good ladies who prompted and heard her, soon contrived means to let the Prince know, that his wife had spoken very freely concerning him. Thus it was, that, by degrees, these insidious wretches contrived very greatly to prejudice the Prince against his amiable and unsuspecting consort; a prejudice which very shortly grew into a rooted dislike.

I pretend not to know every particular of what led to the unfortunate quarrel between their Royal Highnesses; but I am persuaded, that had there not been some person or persons of an envious and malignant character about the court at Carlton House, or at Brighton, no such differences as those which the country has had so much cause to lament, would have taken place between two such characters as the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Shortly after the marriage of the Prince and Princess, the prayer for the royal family was al-

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tered by authority. Before that event, the passage in the liturgy stood as follows: "That it may please Thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Charlotte, his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, and all the royal family." It was then altered by the following additions:— "That it may please Thee, to bless, &c. their Royal Highnesses George Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the royal family." Some persons have affected to discover an inaccuracy in this reading; asserting, that after the first insertion of the word Wales, there ought to have been the conjunction *and;* but this criticism seems to me perfectly needless: the conjunction is evidently understood, and to have inserted it would, I conceive, have rendered the reading harsh, inelegant, and tautologous.

CHAPTER IV.

NINE calendar months, wanting only a single day, had elapsed, since her marriage with the Prince, when her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a Princess at Carlton House. The intelligence of this event, which took place between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 7th of January, 1796, spread universal joy through the nation. The Duke of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of his Majesty's Council, the Duke of Leeds, the Duke of Devonshire, the

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Earl of Cholmondeley, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Jersey, Lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her Royal Highness's bed-chamber, were present. The firing of the Park and Tower guns, and other demonstrations of joy in the cities of London and Westminster, manifested the pleasure with which this royal birth was received by all ranks of people. Addresses from various quarters were prepared, and presented, though, for reasons shortly to be stated, his Royal Highness found it necessary to receive those presented to himself and his Princess in private.

Henry James Pye, Esq. the late poet laureat, in his New Year's Ode for that year, has the following stanza, the last of the poem, alluding to this auspicious circumstance:

"Now strike a livelier chord—the happy day,
Selected from the circling year
To celebrate a name to Britain dear,
From Britain's sons demands a festive lay.
Mild sov'reign of our monarch's soul,
Whose eye's meek radiance can control
The powers of care, and grace a throne,
Each calm to life domestic known;
Propitious Heaven has o'er thy head,
Blossoms of richer fragrance shed;
Than all the assiduous muse can bring,
Cull'd from the honey'd stores of Spring;
For see, amid wild Winter's hours,
A bud its silken folds display,
Sweeter than all the chalic'd flowers,
That crown thine own ambrosial May.
O may thy smiles, blest infant, prove
Omens of concord, and of love!
Bid the loud strains of martial triumph cease,
And tune to softer mood the warbling reed of peace."

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Alas! who cannot but deeply regret that this wish of the bard should have been frustrated; and that the "smiles" of this lovely infant should not have been the means of producing that domestic "concord and love," of which it was fondly hoped they would have been the "omen."

The addresses of congratulation, both to the Prince of Wales and to their Majesties, were warm and numerous.

The address of the city of London to his Majesty was as follows:

To the King's most excellent Majesty,
The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled, humbly approach the throne with our sincerest congratulations on the safe delivery of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and the birth of a Princess.

Deeply sensible of the true and substantial blessings which we experience under your Majesty's mild and paternal government as essential to the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of all your Majesty's subjects.

Your faithful citizens of London must feel themselves highly interested in an event which directly tends to secure to Britain the succession of your illustrious race on the throne of their ancestors.

Impressed as we are with such sentiments of loyalty and attachment to your royal house, it will be equally our duty and delight to promote within our several spheres a grateful veneration for your Majesty's sacred person and government,—a due submission and respect for the laws of our country, and a stedfast zeal to preserve the tranquillity of the empire, as the fundamental protection of the invaluable privileges we enjoy.

To this his Majesty answered:

thank you for this dutiful and loyal address, and for your congratulations on the birth of a Princess.

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The repeated instances which I have received of your attachment to my person, family, and government, are highly satisfactory to me.

The following was the address of the city of London to her Majesty on the same occasion:

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty,

The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

May it please your Majesty,

We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the safe delivery of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and the birth of a Princess.

The citizens of London feel the most lively sentiments of joy on every occasion which contributes to your Majesty's domestic felicity; and the sacred line of succession to the throne of these kingdoms, thus preserved, forms a very material portion of their happiness—conscious as they are, that no advantage will be wanting to form her infant mind after the virtuous example of the illustrious females of your Majesty's royal house.

That your Majesty may be long spared to witness the growth of those transcendent virtues, of which your Majesty forms so eminent a pattern, is the sincere prayer of the loyal citizens of London.

To this her Majesty answered:

I return you my sincere thanks for your congratulations on the birth of a Princess; and I cannot but be very sensible of those cordial expressions of attention to me with which they are accompanied.

The following transaction, applauded by some, and censured by others, merits notice in this place: The city of London having resolved to present a congratulatory address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, it was intimated, by Lord Cholmondeley, to the lord mayor, that "the Prince of Wales, being under the necessity of reducing

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his establishment, he was precluded from receiving the address in a manner suitable to his situation;" at the same time a request was made that copies of the addresses might be sent to his Royal Highness, when Mr. Deputy Birch, in the court of common council moved, "That his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, having stated that the inadequacy of his establishment precluded him from receiving the compliments of congratulation voted to be presented to their Royal Highnesses, in a way suitable to his situation, this court are of opinion, that they cannot, consistently with their own dignity, suffer the said compliments to be presented in any other way than the customary form."

This motion having been agreed to, the city remembrancer was directed to convey a copy of the resolution to the Prince of Wales; and on the 6th of February, the next court of common council, the lord mayor rose to state to the court, a conference he had had with his Royal Highness, observing that he had thought it his duty to commit what had passed to writing, which he begged leave of the court to read. It was as follows:

"In consequence of a letter from Lord Cholmondeley, dated January 31, 1796, stating that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales wished to speak to me at Carlton House, and to give me a private audience on Tuesday, (but which appointment was afterwards, by a second letter, fixed for Monday, at one o'clock) I had the honour of waiting on his Royal Highness, who addressed me by saying, that he had seen with concern in the public papers, a statement of what had passed in the court of common council on Thursday, respecting a letter written by Lord Cholmondeley, at the command of his Royal Highness, and sent to

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the city remembrancer, conveying his sentiments on the intended address of congratulation to their Royal Highnesses, which sentiments he conceived had been mistaken or misunderstood, or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. His Royal Highness said, that he thought it incumbent upon him to preserve a consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state appendages attached to the rank and character of the Prince of Wales did not in consequence exist, his Royal Highness conceived that he could not receive an address in state, and particularly, from the corporation of the city of London, for which he entertained the highest veneration and respect. His Royal Highness, therefore, thought it would appear disrespectful to the first body corporate in the kingdom, to receive the members of it inconsistently with their *character* and *his own dignity.*"

Some persons, anxious to create or discover grounds of complaint between the Prince of Wales and his Royal Consort, whispered it abroad that this resolution of his Royal Highness was afterwards spoken of by the Princess in terms of no very flattering nature; that she despised the parsimonious plans of economy adopted by the Prince, and thought it beneath his dignity not to have departed from those plans, at least in the case of an address from the city of London. All this, however, I have not the least doubt was the effect of private malice, and the busy meddling of those who had often before laboured to fan into a flame those indications of a disagreement between these illustrious personages which had already began to manifest themselves. It was pretty well known, that, even before the birth of the Princess Charlotte, the Prince had discovered marks of dis-

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like to either the person, the principles, or the manners of the Princess; hence, whatever circumstance took place of a disagreeable nature, was sure to be laid hold of by the enemies of her Royal Highness, and employed to increase the misunderstanding between her and her husband.

On the 7th of February, the Prince of Wales received in private the congratulatory compliments of both Houses of Parliament, presented by committees, in consequence of his Royal Highness, from having reduced his establishment, being unable to receive them with the proper dignities of his rank.

But now, unfortunately, we are compelled to turn our attention to the first public manifestations of that deep-rooted and unaccountable antipathy which his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, has so long cherished against the Princess, his wife; and which, now that he is raised to the throne itself; and he the King, and she the Queen, of these realms, that antipathy appears to have so completely taken possession of his breast, that nothing, it is greatly to be feared, will ever hereafter be able to remove it. It is common to describe man as a free agent; and probably there may be some moral truth in the sentiment, considering man as a probationary and accountable being. But, most assuredly, this doctrine will not apply to the native feelings and propensities of the mind: for we can no more command our hearts, in regard to predilections

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and antipathies, than we can suspend ourselves, without some external aid, in the clouds; or that a man can describe two opposite circles with his hand and foot at the same time. We need not, therefore, in every instance of disagreement between two individuals, immediately conclude, that there must necessarily exist some moral or physical evil in one or both of the parties, which can be removed by any exertions of their own. That there can be no effect without an adequate cause, I readily grant; but in matters of taste, and of mere feeling, the causes of our approbation or disapprobation are frequently so occult that it is impossible for us to discover or describe them:

> "I do not like thee, Doctor Fell;
> The reason why I cannot tell;
> But this, indeed, I know full well;
> I do not like thee, Doctor Fell."

We have all of us more or less of what may be called a kind of moral physiognomical discernment, or rather feeling, which, in a manner unknown to us, prompts our instincts to like this object, and to dislike that; and thus whatever circumstance occurs that has the remotest tendency to feed and nourish our natural disposition towards any particular individual, we lay hold of with eagerness; and soon discover, in that individual, if we do not even ourselves create it, that which we persuade ourselves is a sufficient ground for our approval or disapproval.

I have been led into these reflections from the

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circumstance of the Prince of Wales having, very soon after his marriage, manifested some disinclination, if not dislike, towards the Princess; and that this dislike had its origin in some such feelings as I have here ventured to remark upon, is evident from what his Royal Highness himself says, in a letter, which I shall shortly lay before the reader, addressed to his Royal Consort from Windsor Castle. "Our inclinations," says he, "are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other." Who does not perceive, in this admission, that, in the beginning at least, his Royal Highness had not any real grounds of complaint against the conduct of the Princess: "Nature had not made them suitable to each other," and that was all. Yes, and that was amply sufficient for the foundation of the deepest, and most irreconcilable dislike. With such a feeling of the mind towards any person, every doubtful look, word, or deed, of an object so viewed, would be construed into an offence; and the demons of discord would find their wicked purposes easily accomplished with such a natural preparation in the minds of the parties whom they wished to disunite for ever.

During the pregnancy and subsequent confinement of the Princess, his Royal Highness is described as paying every proper and laudable attention to her comfort and health; but scarcely three months had elapsed after the birth of the

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Princess Charlotte, before the world became acquainted with the lamentable fact of their separation.

Lady Cholmondeley was deputed to inform the Princess that the Prince of Wales had resolved upon a separation. What private altercations might have preceded this disagreeable message, I pretend not to know; but that it was not the result of some knowledge which the Prince might be supposed to possess of any actual crime or offence committed by her Royal Highness, I think is manifest from the general tenour and spirit of the letter which the Princess afterwards received from her estranged husband.

Considering the deep importance of the subject of the communication made through Lady Cholmondeley to her Royal Highness, and the lasting consequences which it might produce on her future welfare, she resolved not to rest satisfied with a merely verbal communication, but requested that the Prince of Wales would signify his pleasure in writing. Accordingly, she very shortly afterwards received the following letter:

Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

"MADAM,

"As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse therefore be restricted

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to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing, at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

"I am, Madam,

"With great truth,

"Very sincerely, yours,

(Signed) "GEORGE P."

To this letter her Royal Highness sent the following answer, written originally in French, but here translated:

"The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley, neither surprises, nor offends me. It merely confirms what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

"I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

"The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my sovereign and my Father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprize you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his Majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meet his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

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"It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

"Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be,

"Your much devoted

"CAROLINE."

"*6th of May*, 1796."

Nothing is more clear, from this short correspondence, that, whatever else was the cause of the Prince's dislike to his wife, he did not charge her with any thing like crime; and indeed, her Royal Highness herself remarks to the King, on this express letter, that his Majesty would do her the justice to remark, that in that letter, there was not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to the Prince's determination; adding, that all the tales of infamy and discredit which the inventive malice of her enemies, had brought forward on these charges, had their date, years and years after the period to which she was then alluding. There might, as she was always ready to admit, in the inquiries which afterwards took place, and into which I shall, in the course of the following sheets, enter with some degree of minuteness, have been circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in her behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, might be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved: circumstances, however, which her foreign education, and foreign habits, misled her to

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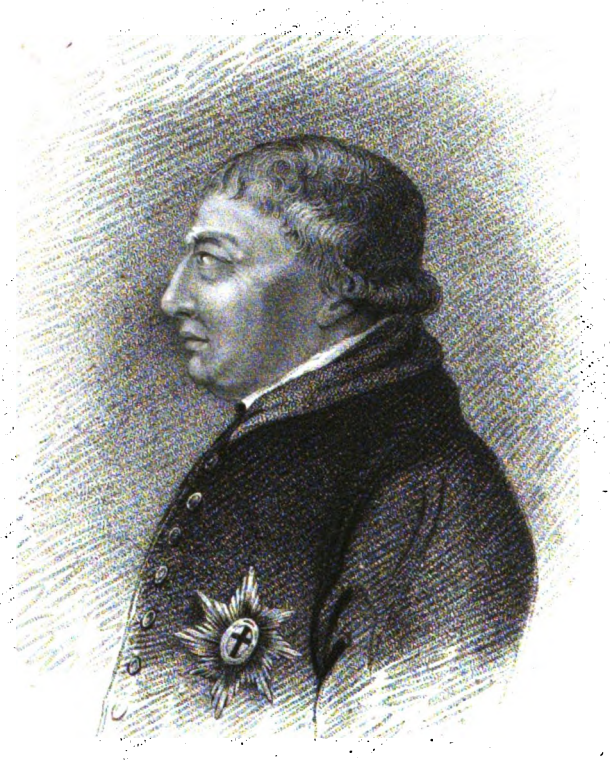

HIS LATE MAJESTY, KING GEORGE, III.

from a Sketch taken at Windsor, during his Illness.

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think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was then her fate to live, and where she had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise her, were wholly free from offence.

And if, after this horrid statement of Lady Douglas and others, to which her Royal Highness alluded in her letter to the King, as above mentioned, no real crime could be justly brought against her, much less could any imputation of guilt have been the original grounds of the separation that took place immediately after the receipt of the Prince's letter of the 30th of April, already quoted. There is, however, internal evidence in the answer to that letter, that a single month had not elapsed, after the marriage of their Royal Highnesses, before the Prince had made some "tacit insinuations," that he did not altogether like his wife's person or company, and that, in fact, he intended a separation. Short, indeed, was the period of their connubial bliss! and no sooner had the disagreement between the royal pair become known to the public at large, than it was increased, by the impertinent curiosity of some, and the envy and malignity of others, to a degree of intenseness which, in all probability, will never be allowed to subside.

The late King, on coming to a knowledge of this afflicting circumstance of the separation of his son and daughter-in-law, was very greatly affected. His Majesty had, doubtless, been already apprized, that the union was not likely, for some time at least, to be attended with those pleasing and beneficial re-

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sults which he, in common with the great bulk of his subjects, had fondly anticipated; and, when matters came to an extremity, he omitted nothing, that would mark his love and affection for his niece and daughter-in-law, without, however, at the same time, taking any step in the business indicative of a spirit of hostility towards the Prince, his Majesty's son. Few men could more justly appreciate the genuine feelings of a parent for a child than the King; hence his Majesty did not fail to employ his influence with the Prince of Wales to induce his Royal Highness, whatever might be his ultimate determination respecting the Princess, to allow the child to remain under the immediate care and guardianship of its mother until, at least, the young Princess should have attained her eighth year. This arrangement, though generally understood to have been made and agreed to at the instance of the late King, was not strictly adhered to; for when the Princess Charlotte was only five or six years old, her mother, it was universally reported at the time, saw her occasionally only.

After her Royal Highness left Carlton House, in which, for some time before, she had lived, in a manner, separately from the Prince, she retired to Charlton, a beautiful village in Kent, in the neighbourhood of Woolwich near the edge of Blackheath; but the appointed residence of the Princess Charlotte was at Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill, about two miles from Charlton.

When, however, her Royal Highness left Carl-

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ton House, it was intimated to her that her apartments there should undergo a thorough repair, and that she might hereafter return to them. She was accompained to her retirement by Miss Garth, Miss Vernon, Mrs. Harcourt, Mrs. Sander, a native of Brunswick, who came to this country with her Royal Highness as her dresser, and by some other ladies; but her state and style of living were by no means what might be considered as fully adequate to a royal establishment. Yet with these few attendants, and being for a few years almost constantly employed in the care and education of her beloved infant, the Princess, her time passed off smoothly and peaceably. She soon regained her wonted vivacity of spirit; and though in some sense deserted by her royal husband, the King, her venerable father-in-law and uncle, still cherished towards her his wonted paternal affection and regard. But the comparative peace and happiness which were enjoyed by her Royal Highness during her seclusion from the bustle of courts and the constant routine of amusement in the highest circles of fashionable life, were noticed, by the ever-vigilant eye of envy, with no small degree of malevolent keenness. Her Royal Highness, though living thus retired, and spending much the greatest portion of her time in the quiet pursuit of filial and domestic duties, and amongst the few select friends of her household, was nevertheless frequently visited by persons of distinction from town. Some of these "good-natured friends," it is to be feared, came not so much to

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please and amuse this amiable and unsuspecting Princess, as to watch her manners, and to "weigh her words and actions." If one may judge from events that subsequently transpired, her Royal Highness was, for some time, the subject of an organized system of espionage: a system, however, which I am by no means disposed to believe had its origin in the will of her royal husband; but carried on by the officious malice of secret enemies, who had resolved, from the moment of her marriage, to ruin her with the Prince of Wales.

In the year 1801, this diabolical plot began to "thicken," when, on removing from Charlton to Montague House, Blackheath, she soon afterwards had the misfortune to form an acquaintance with the lady of Sir John Douglas, an officer of rank and character, who had served with honour in Egypt and other places against the French. Here, however, during the space of several years, she lived, comparatively speaking, not only entirely separated, *a mensa et thora*, from her husband, but almost secluded from the world.

During the short peace of 1802-3, the Princess of Wales was visited by several distinguished foreigners, as well as by some English gentlemen, amongst which were Lord Hood, Lord Aurelius Beauclerc, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, Joachim Henry Compé, Esq. an intelligent foreigner, then engaged in preparing for the press his own "Travels in England," and by some others. The summer seasons were chiefly passed

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at some neighbouring watering-place. Whilst at home her Royal Highness most laudably employed herself in rural occupations; having, also, with the consent and knowledge of her husband, various masters to improve and amuse her in arts calculated to render her life as pleasant and agreeable as possible. By Mr. Atwood she was greatly improved in the science of music, of which she was always particularly fond, and in which she became a very great proficient. M. Giffadiere taught her Royal Highness English; M. Tourfionilli improved her in painting; she learnt from M. Tutoye how to imitate marble; and Mrs. Elwes was specially appointed to improve her on the harp.

But the two greatest sources of her pleasure were the visits of her daughter, the admirable Princess; and those of his Majesty, her most affectionate and only supporter. Occasionally she visited the Opera, and the other theatres; and was now and then seen at court.

The following extract from Compé's Travels, above mentioned, and published soon after the year 1803, exhibits in a very pleasing light, the peculiar taste, and many of the pursuits of her Royal Highness whilst resident at Blackheath.

"When," says this enlightened foreigner, "I was at the Princess of Wales's residence at Blackheath, she had the condescension to conduct me to a garden at some distance, which she had principally laid out herself, and which she superintended in such a complete sense of the word, that no per-

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son presumed to do any thing in it but what she herself directed. I admired the beautiful order, and the careful cultivation of even the most insignificant spot; the judicious combination of the useful with the agreeable, which appeared so delightful, wherever I cast my eyes. I was charmed with the neat borders of flowers, between which we passed, and was doubly rejoiced to find them so small; because, as the Princess remarked, too much room ought not to be taken from the useful vegetables, merely for the purpose of pleasing the eye. I was transported with the elegance, taste, and convenience displayed in the pavilion, in which the dignified owner, who furnished the plan, and the directions for every part of it, had solved the problem, how a building of but two floors, on a surface of about eighteen feet square, could be constructed and arranged in such a manner that a small family capable of limiting its desires, might find in it a habitation equally beautiful, tasteful, and commodious. The manner in which this had been effected, deserves, in my opinion, the notice and admiration of professed architects.

"After my royal guide had shown me her favourite spot, a small and extremely simple seat, placed in the corner of the garden, overshadowed by two or three honeysuckles, the branches of which are bent in such a manner that one of the finest prospects which this place commands, opens to the view as through a window, she invited me to survey the most important part of her grounds.

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I manifested some surprise, conceiving that I had seen every thing. The lovely Princess smiled, and conducted me to a considerable tract, covered with vegetables, comprising the farther and largest portion of this remarkable garden. 'This,' said she, 'is my principal concern. Here I endeavour to acquire the honourable name of a farmer, and that, as you see, not merely in jest. The vegetables which I raise here in considerable quantity, are carried to town and sold. The produce amounts annually to a handsome sum.'

"It may probably be guessed to what purpose this handsome sum was applied. If not, I will even run the risk of incurring her anger, by revealing the secret of the active and benevolent life which the *future Queen of the first and most powerful nation in the world*, here led in a simple country-house, which was in fact not so large as that of a petty German baron. Indeed this accomplished Princess led in this modest mansion a life so useful, so active, so virtuous, that I might challenge the most celebrated philosopher, in a like situation, to surpass her. She had no court, no officers of state, no chamberlains, no maids of honour, &c. because she had no occasion for them here; but she was occasionally visited by a couple of female friends, who are not so merely in name, the very intelligent and worthy Mrs. Fitzgerald and her amiable daughter. Her whole long forenoon, that is, from six in the morning till seven in the evening, is devoted to business, to reading and writing, to the

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cultivation of different arts; for instance, music, painting, embroidery, modelling in clay, gardening, and to—education.

"My last word may occasion great astonishment, because it is so extremely unusual to see persons of princely rank occupy themselves with an employment which cannot have any charms for persons who have a taste only for the pleasures and amusements of a court. But this astonishment may be increased, when it is added, that it is not the young and hopeful Princess her *daughter*, whom she educated, but eight or nine poor orphan children, to whom she had the condescension to supply the place of a mother. Her own was the child of the state, and, according to the constitution of the country, must not, alas! be educated by herself. These poor children, on the other hand, were boarded by her with honest people in the neighbourhood; she herself not only directed every thing relative to their education, and instruction, but sent every day to converse with them, and thus contributed towards the formation of their infant minds. Never while I live shall I forget the charming, the affecting scene which I had the happiness of witnessing, when the Princess was pleased to introduce me to her little foster children. We were sitting at table; the Princess and her friends were at breakfast, but I, in the German fashion, was taking my dinner. The children appeared clothed in the cleanest, but, at the same time, in the simplest manner, just as the children of country people are

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in general dressed. They seemed perfectly ignorant of the high rank of their foster mother, or rather not to comprehend it. The sight of a stranger somewhat abashed them; but their bashfulness soon wore off, and they appeared to be perfectly at home. Their dignified benefactress conversed with them in a lively, jocose, and truly maternal manner. She called to her first one, then another, and another, and among the rest, a little boy, five or six years old, who had a sore upon his face. Many a parent of too delicate nerves, would not have been able to look at her own child in this state, without an unpleasant sensation. Not so the royal mother of these orphans. She called the boy to her, gave him a biscuit, looked at his face to see whether it had got any better, and manifested no repugnance when the grateful infant pressed her hand to his bosom; what this wise, royal instructress said to me on this occasion, is too deeply impressed upon my memory to be erased: 'People find fault with me,' said she, 'for not doing more for these children, after I have even taken them under my care: I ought, in their opinion, to provide them with more elegant and costly clothes, to keep masters of every kind for them; that they may at once make a figure as persons of refined education. However, I only laugh at their censure, for I know what I am about. It is not my intention to raise these children into a rank superior to that in which they are placed; in that rank I mean them to remain, and to become useful, virtuous,

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and happy members of society. The boys are destined to become expert seamen, and the girls skilful, sensible, industrious housewives—nothing more. I have them instructed in all that is really serviceable for either of these destinations; but every thing else is totally excluded from the plan of education which I have laid down for them. Those who are acquainted with the splendour of the higher classes, and have reflected upon it, will beware of snatching children from the more happy condition of inferior rank, for the purpose of raising them into the former, in despite of Providence and natural destination.'

"Such was the wise and philanthropic manner in which this admirable Princess, in the flower of her age, passed one day after another. Towards evening a very small company, of not more than three or four persons, assembled at her house to dine with her, and fortunately ceremony did not oblige her to pay regard in her selection to any other recommendation than merit. It was only on court days, when the royal family assembled, that she went to town or to Windsor, to complete the dignified circle of which she was such a distinguished ornament. To the theatres, and other places of amusement of the fashionable world, her Royal Highness was a stranger. Since she came to England she had only been twice to the play, and that was soon after her arrival. This, which of itself was an extraordinary circumstance, will be considered a great sacrifice by those who know the

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uncommon love and respect which were cherished by people of all ranks for their future Queen, and consequently need not be told that she renounced a triumph as often as she withdrew from public view.

"She devoted one day in the week to her own daughter, the Princess Charlotte, who came to see her, and spent the day with her. There was nothing to prevent her from enjoying this gratification oftener, for the child was to be brought to her whenever she pleased. For wise reasons, however, she denied herself and her daughter the more frequent repetition of a pleasure of which both of them every day were ardently desirous. 'If,' said she, 'I were to have the child with me every day, I should be obliged sometimes to speak to her in a tone of displeasure, and even of severity. She would then have less affection for me, and what I said to her would make less impression upon her heart. As it is, we remain in some measure new to each other; at each of her visits I have occasion to show her love and tenderness, and the consequence is, that the child is attached to me with all her soul, and not a word I say to her fails of producing the desired effect.'

"I was myself an eye-witness to the truth of this. Such tender attachment and such fervent love, as this child, only seven years old, manifested to her royal mother, was assuredly seldom seen in persons of that rank. Her eyes were necessarily fixed on the beauteous countenance of her tender

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mother: and what eyes! Never in a child of her age, have I beheld eyes so expressive, so soft, so penetrating. The first time she cast them on me, she seemed as though she would penetrate my soul. Neither her dress nor her behaviour afforded the least room to suspect her high destination: the former was so simple, and the latter so natural and unaffected, that a stranger would scarcely take her for the heiress of a throne. In every dress, and in every place, however, the attentive observer would easily discover her to be an extraordinary child. The royal artist, her mother, has made a model of her, and of several other persons who are dear to her, in clay, and afterwards taken from them plaster casts which are most perfect resemblances. In acquiring that art, this accomplished Princess preserved a manner of her own. Instead of working, as usual, a long time from models, she merely procured instruction in the use of the tools; her fancy then formed, from the detached traits of a poem, the representation of an imaginary person, and she began to compose the figure without any copy. The subject of her first essay was the Lenora of Burges's celebrated ballad; her second was the head of an old lord, whose name I have forgotten; and the third was her daughter the Princess Charlotte.

"This reminds me of another piece of work by the hand of this royal artist, which I had likewise an opportunity of inspecting, and which appeared to me equally beautiful and ingenious. In passing through her work-room (where, besides a choice

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collection of books and all kinds of implements of the arts, there was a large table covered with papers, writings, drawings, and books) she took the trouble to direct my attention to a very handsome table, and asked me what I conceived it to be. Without a moment's hesitation I declared it was inlaid, or, as it is called, Mosaic work; and that it was an excellent specimen of the art. She smiled, and said, that could not be, as she, who knew nothing of Mosaic work, had made it herself, and in a few hours. It is nothing more, added her Royal Highness, than a square of ground glass, on which I have fastened with gum different kinds of natural flowers, which were first carefully dried and pressed, and then turned the glass with the smooth side uppermost to produce the delusion by which you were just now deceived. The whole art, or rather the trifling degree of trouble, which this easy operation requires, consists merely in the choice of the situation which must be given to each flower, so that one may be properly connected with the other, and that as small a vacancy as possible may remain between them. As the glass would not, however, be completely covered, I suppose (for unluckily I forgot to inquire) that the intervals are stained with colours so as to give them the appearance of stone.

"By means of this pleasing artifice she had made a Chinese lamp for one of her other apartments, which, like those of coloured glass, or thin alabaster, diffused a very mild light.

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"A second table in her work-room, which appeared to be composed of every possible species of marble, was, what I should never have guessed—nothing more than a square of ground glass, which, on the other side, was painted in such a manner that the spectator could not help taking the whole for specimens of all the species of marble joined together and inlaid. In each corner a small copper plate of some antique figures was stuck; of course, on the reverse of the square, which completed the deception."

Could it have been thought possible, that a lady of such a mind, of such a heart, and attached to such pursuits as are here depicted, could be the constant object of open and secret enmity? Yet so it was: there was not an action of her life, a word, or a look, that was not watched by the eye of envy and jealousy, and tortured to the basest of meanings. Her generous and unsuspecting heart was continually laying her open to suspicions of a black and hateful nature. From the moment of her separation from the Prince, it was her cruel lot to be beset by enemies and spies both at home and abroad. Driven into a sort of unnatural retirement from those circles in which her exalted birth and situation in life justly entitled her to move, and of which she was calculated to be "the grace, life, and honour;" surrounded by those worst, and bitterest of foes, pretended friends, and deluding advisers, her good name was in perpetual jeopardy. Envy and jealousy are dispositions of a nature

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supereminently fitted to produce "murder, stratagems and death." The snakes that entwine the heart of envy, and the monsters formed in the evil imagination of her yellow-eyed sister and coadjutor, jealousy, seldom fail, in a greater or lesser degree, to effect the wicked purpose for which the demon of destruction originally formed them; though, thanks to the omnipotence of truth and innocence, the mischiefs brooded by these fiends, sooner or later, react upon those by whom they are cherished, and their intended victims may rest assured, that, if not in this world, at the final hour of retributive justice, in "another and a better" scene of existence, these deadly monsters will meet their due reward. For a long time, however, was the Princess of Wales the object of attack from persons nourishing these hateful propensities, till at length she was driven to the painful extremity of appealing to a generous, and dispassionate public, the details of which noble daring will form a very conspicuous part of the ensuing sheets.

In writing thus warmly concerning the character of her Royal Highness, and that of her enemies, let not the reader imagine that the author is disposed to eulogize every act of that much injured Princess, or to approve of every measure she has thought proper to pursue. Still less, let him be understood to cast the entire blame of the shameful persecutions she has suffered during the many painful years of her separation from her royal husband, to any disposition in that husband to acts

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of injustice or cruelty. His Majesty, I doubt not, both whilst he was Prince of Wales, and since his accession to the throne, has been most scandalously duped and misled by the enemies of his Royal Consort.

It is the misfortune of many well-meaning and really good persons, sometimes to fall into the most distressing and embarrassing difficulties and errors even when, as they imagine, they are performing some truly benevolent and praiseworthy act. Thus it was with the following unfortunate circumstance, when her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, most incautiously and most injudiciously adopted the infant child of a poor man of the name of AUSTIN.

As it will tend very materially to shorten the narrative that I shall hereafter be compelled to give of what has been, emphatically, though not very truly, termed "*The Delicate Investigation*," I shall lay such particulars before the reader, respecting the birth of the child Austin, as have already transpired or may be relied upon.

The father of this child, whose name was William, was a poor labourer in the Dock-Yard at Deptford. The mother, Sophia Austin, according to her oath taken before commissioners appointed for that and other important purposes connected therewith, was delivered of this child in Brownlow Street Hospital, on the 11th of July 1802. She deposed that it was her second child, and was marked, at the time of its birth, in the right hand, "with red wine." At

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the time when the short peace was proclaimed between this country and France, a number of workmen were discharged from the Dock-Yard, and poor Austin happened to be one of them. On a Saturday, about the end of October, 1801, it appears, the afflicted mother of the child, having heard (for who had not heard?) of the charitable disposition of the Princess of Wales, went to Blackheath with a "petition to get her husband restored." At that time the Austins lived with a milkman of the name of Bearblock, at No. 7, Deptford New-row. When she got to Montague House, the residence of her Royal Highness, she desired Mr. Stikeman, who was page to the Princess of Wales, and whom she had known on a former occasion, when she applied for a letter of admission to Brownlow Street Hospital, to present her petition. Stikeman replied that the servants were commanded not to do such things, but seeing the poor woman with a baby he could not refuse. For a reason which shall be given in another place, the page took the child and the petition at the same time, to her Royal Highness. He was, as the poor woman described it, a long time gone; and when he returned with the child, he brought "half-a-guinea which the ladies had sent her." He said if the child had been younger he could have had it taken care of for the mother; but he desired that she would come again.

Accordingly, on the following Monday, Mrs. Austin went again to Montague House; and again saw Mr. Stikeman, who, after several visits to

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Austin's own lodgings, directed the mother of the child to take it to Blackheath on the 5th of November; but as that day was very rainy, she did not take it. The day afterwards Mr. Stikeman called at Austin's, and took the mother and the child to the Princess, who, on seeing the child, asked its age; then directed the mother to be shown into the coffee-room, to have some arrow-root, to wean the child, and afterwards to bring it, and finally leave it with her Royal Highness. On the 15th of the same month, the child being weaned, Mrs. Austin took her infant to the Princess, under whose care she left it; but had frequent opportunities of seeing it afterwards.

Such is the account given on oath by the mother of this "mysterious child," as her Majesty's enemies have chosen to designate him; but as it is of great importance that this fact should be rendered as obvious as possible, and to prevent a recurrence to the subject hereafter, unless so far as it may be found necessary to notice it in the accusations against the persecuted subject of these Memoirs, I will here give a complete analysis of what others have deposed confirmatory of Sophia Austin's statement.

It will be proper, in the first place, however, to insert the following extract from the register of births and baptisms of children, born in the British Lying-in Hospital, a most excellent charitable institution, founded in the year 1749, for the reception of poor married women; and situate at No. 34, Brownlow Street, Drury Lane:

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" Born,	1802,	Baptized,
	May,	
8,	Thomas, of Richard and Elizabeth Austin,	20
	July,	
11,	William, of Samuel and Sophia Austin,	15

The above are the only two entries under the name of Austin, about the period in question, and were extracted by me. No description of the children is preserved.

CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN.

June 23, 1806."

Thus the register corresponds with the name and date of the birth deposed to by Sophia Austin, the mother of the child. In further confirmation of this woman's deposition, we have those of several others, servants in the household of the Princess, of which the following are the substance:

ROBERT BIDGOOD, whose testimony in other respects, as we shall hereafter have to remark, is not very favourable to the Princess of Wales, swears that Mrs. Austin used frequently to visit Montague House having another child greatly resembling the one with the Princess.

FRANCES LLOYD, whose testimony also in other respects is extremely prejudicial to her Royal Highness, deposed, that she remembered the child being brought to Montague House; it was brought to her room. She had orders sent her to give the mother arrow-root, with directions how to make it, to wean the child and to give it to the mother, who took the child away; and afterwards, in a week or ten days, brought it back again, and then also it was carried into her room. She asked Sophia Austin how a mother could part with her child;

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who, with tears in her eyes, replied that she could not afford to keep it. The child was said to be about four months old when it was brought.

MARY ANN WILSON, swore, that she remembered the child being brought to the Princess: the mother brought it, when it appeared to be about four months old: she remembered also that twins had been brought to her Royal Highness before the child in question was brought. SAMUEL ROBERTS deposed to the same effect; and THOMAS STIKEMAN, already mentioned, swore that the Princess had, as every one in the house knew, a strong desire to have an infant; that is to adopt one as her own. He completely confirmed the mother's deposition about the petition concerning her husband, and the bringing of the child. At the time when this deposition was made, which was on the 7th of June, 1806, Austin, the father of the child, lived at Pimlico, in Stikeman's own house. His wife was a laundress, and washed the Princess's linen, and employed Austin to turn the mangle for him. He knew that the child was born in Brownlow Street Hospital. He was sure the child had not been weaned after it had been brought the first time. The Princess was very fond of it; it was always called William Austin.

JOHN SICARD, house-steward, remembered the child being brought; and supposed it might be about five months old at the time. But, perhaps, the most material deposition is that of CHARLOTTE SANDER, a native of Brunswick, who had then

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lived with the Princess of Wales eleven years, and was her dresser. This person deposed to the fact of the child's being under the protection of her Royal Highness—that the father and mother were then alive; she had seen them both; the father had worked in the Dock-Yard, at Deptford; but had, at the time when this deposition was made, lost the use of his limbs. Sander was present when the child was brought to the Princess; she came out of her own room and took the infant herself. She was sure that she never saw the child in the house before it appeared to be four months old.

ELIZABETH GOSDEN, deposed, that, in November, 1802, she was sent for to the Princess's house to look after a child, that, as she understood, had been then nine days in the house. She was to nurse the child. One of the ladies delivered the child to her; and told her that her Royal Highness wished her to take care of him. She was about a year and three quarters with the child; during which the mother used often to come to see it.

This evidence respecting the real birth and parentage of William Austin, whose name will again frequently occur in the course of these Memoirs, is most satisfactorily wound up in the report made by the commissioners to his late Majesty of the result of their investigations into this most delicate and important circumstance. That report shall, hereafter, be given more at length; but in this place it is necessary to quote so much

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of it as immediately relates to the fact now before the reader.

"We are happy," say the commissioners, "to declare our perfect conviction, that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess of Wales is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802, nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries. The identity of the child now with the Princess, its parents, age, the place and date of its birth, the time and circumstances of its being first taken under her Royal Highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. The child was, beyond all doubt, born in Brownlow Street Hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following."

Such is a brief history of the birth of this child; the materials from which I have compiled it are scattered through several sheets, but I have not omitted any fact of consequence that could throw the least additional light on the subject. Young Austin, who, of course, is now (July, 1820,) just entered his nineteenth year, is still with his royal and generous protector. With her he has travelled over a great part of the

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European continent, and through many of the most interesting districts of the eastern world. He has been the subject of conversation in all parts, and bids fair to form materials for an important chapter in the future history of England.

That her Royal Highness, in adopting this child, was influenced by no other feelings than those which reflect honour on her heart, I have no hesitation in believing; but that, under all the circumstances in which she was unfortunately placed with respect to her peculiar situation at the time when she undertook this act of affection and benevolence, she acted a most unwise and injudicious part, cannot reasonably be denied. The experience of seven years ought to have taught her, that she could not stir with perfect safety; and that such a measure as that of adopting so young an infant, might, at some future period, very greatly endanger both her character and honour. It must be confessed, that at that time she had but a very imperfect knowledge of the real character of her new acquaintance, Lady Douglas; nor was it possible that a heart so unsuspecting as that of her Royal Highness's, should conceive that so much perfidy could have place in the breast of one moving in the circle of life so respectable as that in which she found her ladyship. As it is the genuine character of guilt to suspect the innocent, so is it a very common indication of innate purity to be reluctant in thinking or believing ill of others. But goodness

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of heart is not always accompanied by great discernment of understanding; hence it is that many a good man has fallen into snares which the artful, the suspicious, and the designing, almost uniformly escape. Under the cloak of superior prudence and caution the vilest passions may be indulged, whilst under the influence of candour and benevolence the most fatal errors may be committed.

It is highly probable, that had her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, not adopted the infant child of Sophia Austin, nor that of any other person, her enemies would never have dared to bring charges of any criminal nature against her; and that she might to this day have been residing at Blackheath, or at one of the royal palaces, with as much tranquillity as was at all compatible with the secluded condition to which, on other accounts, she was unfortunately reduced. By this one unwise step, she afforded her enemies an opportunity to slander her beyond measure, in as much as it furnished them with a sort of plot for that infamous drama they afterwards got up to destroy the Princess—to please, as they wickedly imagined, her husband, and to gratify their own vicious propensity to scandal, as well as that most hateful of all human passions, an envious jealousy.

The reader will easily perceive, that in these details and reflections respecting William Austin, I have anticipated some facts of this history; but he will find, that, in so doing, the future narrative will be less broken in upon; and that we may

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PRINCESS CHARLOTTE,

of Wales and Saxe Coburg.

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proceed, without interruption, to the most important portion of the Life of her late Majesty, it may not, however, be improper, first, briefly to go over some of the leading events and traits in the short life of her beloved and most amiable daughter, the late PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES AND SAXE-COBURG, confining myself, as much as possible, to those facts which refer principally to the conduct and character of the illustrious individual whose memoirs, in this volume, I am chiefly concerned to detail.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, as I have already stated, was born on the 17th of January, 1796. Whilst the parents of this lovely infant were living apart in a state of mutual dissatisfaction with each other's conduct, she was gradually unfolding those amiable traits of character which, in her more advanced life, rendered her the object of universal esteem and admiration. The rudiments of her education she received from her mother, assisted by an excellent and truly pious clergyman resident in the neighbourhood, the Rev. Dr. Watson.

She is said to have made very rapid progress in the acquirement of a knowledge of the alphabet, and in the art of reading; but what was of infinitely greater moment to the formation of her character, and to her happiness, her mother very early inspired her with a just sense of religion, and the duties and doctrines of the Christian faith. The late Dr. Porteus, the pious and excellent Bishop

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of London, in his journal, left by him, gives the following account of this charming young Princess, when she was but just turned her fifth year:

"Yesterday, the 6th of August, 1801, I passed a very pleasant day at Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill, the residence of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. The day was fine, the prospect extensive and beautiful, taking in a large reach of the Thames, which was covered with vessels of various sizes and descriptions. We saw a good deal of the young Princess: she is a most captivating and engaging child, and, considering the high station she may hereafter fill, a most interesting and important one. She repeated to me several hymns with great correctness and propriety, and on being told when she went to Southend in Essex, (as she afterwards did for the benefit of sea-bathing,) she would then be in my diocese, she fell down on her knees, and begged my blessing. I gave it her with all my heart, and with my earnest secret prayers to God, that she might adorn her illustrious station with every Christian grace; and that if ever she became queen of this truly great and glorious country, she might be the means of diffusing virtue, piety, and happiness, through every part of her dominions."

Such was the early bent of her Royal Highness's mind, on that most important of all subjects, religion. The following anecdote will show what impressions her mind had received on that next valuable branch of human study, politics—By

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religion and politics all mankind are governed—Being one evening present during a game of chess, one of the parties suddenly exclaimed "check mate." "What is that?" asked the Princess. She was answered, "it is when the king is *en prise* by any particular piece, and cannot move without falling into the hands of the enemy." "That is a bad situation, indeed, for a king," said the Princess; "but can never be the fate of the King of England, so long as he conforms to the laws; for then he will meet with the protection of his subjects."

Volumes might be filled with anecdotes displaying the very great tenderness of disposition and true goodness of heart which manifested themselves in the early life of this Princess. Charity, the darling virtue of her mother's breast, held a most conspicuous seat in her bosom. Yet she very soon discovered no small portion of that intrepidity of soul, mixed up at times with a considerable share of irritation, that supported her afflicted parent midst such a "siege of troubles," as in so short a space of time few persons, even of royal blood, were ever doomed to experience.

We have already seen, that ere she had attained her eighth year, she was taken entirely from under the care of her mother. She had always been remarkable for an honest expression of whatever she deemed fit to be remarked upon; and when she had attained to that age which enabled her to make a due distinction between right and wrong,

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she often fearlessly and incautiously gave her opinion respecting the differences that existed between her parents; and, considering that she had been, till then, chiefly under the care of her mother; had experienced her maternal tenderness; and listened with delight to the lessons of wisdom and of pleasure which fell from her lips, it was perfectly natural that she should warmly espouse her cause, and repel with indignation every hint or whisper that the implacable enemies of the Princess of Wales might presume to utter in her presence. That those repulses were always made with judgment is, perhaps, under such circumstances, too much to expect. It, however, soon became visible to some of those who surrounded the house of her Royal Highness, that a more vigilant eye ought to be kept upon the conduct and principles of the young Princess; nor were there wanting persons ready to convey to the Prince of Wales such intelligence as induced him to change the system of education heretofore pursued. Lady de Clifford was, accordingly, appointed her governess. The King, who by the laws of the land is supposed to be the guardian of all infants, availed himself of his prerogative in this case, and appointed the Bishop of Exeter, whom he afterwards translated to the see of Salisbury, to be her private tutor. The Rev. Dr. George Frederick Nott, whose grandfather was a German, and had a situation in the royal household, and was a particular favourite of his Majesty's, was elected her sub-preceptor. Dr. Nott owed this

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appointment to a volume of Bampton's Lecture Sermons, which he had dedicated to the King. Under such able and pious tutors, her improvement, both with regard to human learning and the principles of true religion, made very rapid advances; but she always kept her mind free from every principle that might lead to intolerance towards those who conscientiously dissented from the forms of the established church. Her studies usually commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and continued, with but slight interruption, till the evening.

This severity of mental exercise required that the utmost care should at the same time be taken of her health. With this view an elegant mansion belonging to a Mr. Wilson, at Bognor, was taken for a certain number of years, as her summer residence. Here she enjoyed every rational pleasure and comfort of which it was possible for her to partake. I regret exceedingly that the limits of this publication will not permit me to enliven the narrative by the relation of some of those well-authenticated anecdotes of the condescension, the urbanity of manners, and above all the charitable disposition of this lovely Princess with which the history of her residence at Bognor is so pregnant.

The estimation in which she held those who were appointed to be her instructors, and who faithfully discharged their respective duties, was very great. But no wonder she should be pleased with a system of education which was partly chalked out for her by that pattern of female excellence,

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Mrs. Hannah More, who, when the education of the Princess became an object of serious attention to her illustrious friends, was consulted by no less a personage than the Queen herself. On this occasion Mrs. More published her "Hints towards forming the character of a young Princess," a work which was deservedly stamped with the royal approbation, as well as that of the world at large. In that work, the writer has wisely considered, not only what is adapted to the duties, but what to the dangers, of the rank of a princess. She has judiciously pointed out the various branches of knowledge essential to her education; the infinite importance of forming the mind; has delineated the specific education calculated to form the character of a great sovereign; the importance of studying ancient and modern history, and particularly that of the English, with the moral advantages to be drawn from this study, independent of the examples it exhibits, and its use in teaching the choice of favourites; with remarks on flattery, and the dangers with which it is attended. The true arts of popularity; the importance of the royal example in promoting loyalty; the graces of deportment; the choice of society; the art of moral calculation, and forming a just estimate of things and persons; of erroneous judgment; with observations on various eminent characters, ages, and books, are all treated with peculiar aptness to the subject before the author. But, above all, this work, like every other production of this most valuable writer,

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inculcates, in the clearest and strongest manner, the vast importance of true religion. The beauty and excellence of the holy scriptures, and the distinguishing characters of Christianity, particularly as a principle of action affecting supreme rulers, are most lucidly set before the reader, as at once enlightening the understanding and warming and improving the heart.

I have given this faint analysis of this work of Mrs. More's because the reader will be thereby better enabled to form a judgment of the character of the young Princess, which was most happily formed on the principles laid down in this excellent work.

It is the fashion to extol the persons as well as the actions of favourite and popular princes: her Royal Highness, the Princess Charlotte, had an ample share of this species of adulation; and not, it must be admitted, without some degree of truth and reason. Whilst a child it was imagined she would have been of a slender and delicate figure; but as she grew up she gradually acquired that *en bon point* for which the present royal family is generally remarkable. Had Lavater seen the grace and majesty of her step, he would instantly have pronounced her Royal Highness one of the most dignified and noble of intellectual beings in this sphere of mortal existence; nor would this decision have been so much at variance with truth and experience as some of the other conjectures of that good and amiable physiognomist.

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Her Royal Highness was actively engaged in her studies at Windsor at the time when the "delicate investigation" concerning the conduct of her mother was in progress. The result of that inquiry gave unspeakable joy to this excellent Princess. When the intelligence was first communicated to her, that the commissioners had entirely exculpated her mother from every charge of guilt, she is said to have suddenly dropped upon her knees, and to have uttered fervent praise to Almighty God, in gratitude for so special a deliverance. Short, however, was this excess of joy; for the correspondence that soon afterwards took place between the King and the Princess of Wales, did not terminate exactly as could have been wished. Her Royal Highness, though acquitted of the main charge, and, in some respects, once more admitted at court, had still a cloud hanging over her; and such a dutiful, affectionate, and pious child as the Princess Charlotte could not know that her mother laboured under the displeasure of her father, without feeling most sensibly for a parent to whom she was so passionately attached. But it was not so much on account of the almost total absence of the Princess of Wales from court, as the additional restraint under which she was laid with respect to her intercourse with the Princess Charlotte, that gave such great pain to both mother and daughter. Several instances of the severity of those restrictions we shall have to notice in the course of our review of her Royal Highness's life subsequent to the year

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1806: at present we must hasten to complete this brief memoir of the Princess Charlotte.

In the year 1813, and a short time before the close of that of 1812, her Royal Highness was visited by a somewhat severe fit of sickness, increased, if not brought on, by the truly afflicting situation in which she stood with her mother, and the disagreements, consequent on that circumstance, at Windsor. About this time a conference was held on the subject of the Princess's future education and establishment; at which were present, the Queen, the Prince Regent, the Princess Charlotte, and the Lord Chancellor. The young Princess, it appeared, had expressed her wish, that, as Lady de Clifford had resigned her situation as governess, she should henceforth have no other person in that capacity, being, as she thought, then of an age to govern herself. This, however, on the part of the Prince Regent, in which he was supported by the Queen and the Lord Chancellor, was not permitted, and the Duchess Dowager of Leeds was appointed to succeed Lady de Clifford.

During these negotiations and arrangements, the Princess of Wales addressed a letter on the subject to her royal husband. In this letter she complains, in very strong terms, of being cut off from every domestic enjoyment, particularly the only one on which she set any value:—the society of her child; by which circumstance, she declared that she was involved in such misery as she well knew his Royal Highness would not inflict upon her, if

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he was aware of its bitterness. Nor was this the only ground of complaint: the plan of excluding the young Princess from all intercourse with the world appeared, to the judgment of the unhappy mother, peculiarly unfortunate. She who was destined to be the sovereign of this great country enjoyed none of those advantages which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; hence it might so happen, that the Princess would be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which the Princess Charlotte was blessed—accompanied, as those talents were, by a disposition singularly amiable, frank, and decided,—her mother could trust much; but, beyond a certain point, the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation; it was, therefore, her most earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that his Royal Highness might be induced to pause before this point should be reached.

Although above a year older than the age at which every other branch of the royal family had received the benefit of episcopal confirmation, the Princess had not been yet admitted to the advantages of that religious rite. On this account, also, the Princess of Wales conjured the

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Prince Regent to hear her entreaties upon this serious matter, even if he should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of their child.

This remonstrance was unheeded, till, having found its way into the Morning Chronicle, it attracted the notice of the public; and a most powerful impression it made on the minds of the people. It had, however, no other effect than that of producing a still stronger determination of the Prince Regent to restrain the intercourse between the mother and the child. On the birth-day, however, of the Princess Charlotte, in 1813, she dined with her mother at Kensington Palace.

Some time after this, at a dinner at Carlton House, at which the Earl of Lauderdale was present, a circumstance took place which caused considerable agitation and conversation. The Earl gave a Whig toast, for the Prince Regent was as yet not unfriendly to those principles. The Princess Charlotte was present, the party being select and private; and on the next toast having been given by her father, she burst into tears, and left the room. What that toast was it never appeared; but the grief it gave to the Princess Charlotte was very great, and drew from the severe pen of Lord Byron the following unjustifiable lines:

"TO A LADY WEEPING.

"Weep, daughter of a royal line,
A sire's disgrace, a realm's decay;—
Ah! happy if each tear of thine
Could wash a father's faults away!"

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"Weep—for thy tears are virtue's tears;
Auspicious to these suffering isles;
And be each drop in future years,
Repaid thee by thy people's smiles!"

By way of retaliation, the opposite party retorted on his lordship thus acrimoniously:

"Bard of the pallid front and curly hair,
To London taste and northern critics dear;—
Friend of the dog, companion of the bear;
Apollo dress'd in trimmest Turkish gear!

"'Tis thine to eulogize the fell Corsair,
Scorning all laws that God or man can frame;
And yet so form'd to please the gentle fair,
That reading misses wish their loves the same.

"Thou prov'st that laws are made to aid the strong,
That murderers and thieves alone are brave,
That all religion is an idle song,
Which troubles life, and leaves us at the grave.

"That men and dogs have equal claims on heaven;
Though dogs but bark, and men more wisely prate;
That to thyself one friend alone was given;
That friend a dog, now snatch'd away by fate.

"And last can tell how daughters best may know
Their love and duty to their fathers dear,
By reckoning up what streams of filial woe,
Will give to every crime a cleansing tear.

"Long may'st thou please this wonder-seeking age,
By Murray purchas'd, and by Moore admir'd!
May fashion never quit thy classic page,
Nor e'er be with thy Turkomania fired!"

The Princess's indisposition at length was cured, and it was hoped that no farther restrictions would have been imposed on her intercourse with her mother. She had removed from Windsor to Warwick House, in London; but it was soon after-

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wards intimated to the Princess of Wales, that her visits there must be entirely discontinued. In this state matters remained till her Royal Highness left the country.

The young Princess having nearly attained her eighteenth year, when she would be considered as of age, the public attention was attracted towards a proposal of marriage between her Royal Highness and the young Prince of Orange. He was first introduced to her at Warwick House, on the 14th of December, 1813; but it was not till the 21st of April following, that any official notice of this intended marriage was made, which, however, as is well known, never took place.

After much delay, and something like altercation, a drawing-room was appointed for the express purpose of having the Princess Charlotte first presented: a sort of royal initiation into the busy and fashionable world. At the close of this ceremony, on leaving the palace, the Prince of Orange handed her Royal Highness to her carriage; and every day seemed to confirm the opinion that a marriage was at hand. The chief reason why this did not take place, was said to be the Princess's insuperable objection to residing on the continent; but perhaps the most powerful cause was the superior attachment which the Princess, about this time, formed for the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, then on a visit, with other royal and distinguished foreigners, in this country. Added to this, it was well known,

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that the Prince of Orange had chosen to signalize himself as a partisan against the Princess of Wales, in her unhappy dispute with the Prince Regent. On one occasion, it was said, the Princess Charlotte inquired of the Prince of Orange, in case of her marriage, what line of conduct she would be expected to pursue relative to her mother; to which the Prince replied, that though she might have perfect liberty to visit her at Kensington Palace, or elsewhere, yet that on no account should the Princess of Wales enter the house of the Prince of Orange. This reply for ever closed the negotiations for a marriage between these illustrious personages; and the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg happening, soon afterwards, to be introduced to her Royal Highness, an intimacy, founded on reciprocal affection and attachment, commenced, which was perfected in the marriage of the Princess to this amiable and excellent Prince. The Prince of Orange afterwards united himself to the late Archduchess of Russia, sister to the Emperor Alexander, and the Duchess of Oldenburg, who had taken a very active part respecting the intended union of the Princess Charlotte and the Prince of Orange.

In July, 1814, the Prince Regent, for reasons which have never been accurately known, but probably connected with the unhappy differences with his wife, resolved to dismiss the entire household of the young Princess. Accordingly, on the 12th of that month, he repaired to Warwick House,

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and informed his daughter that he was come to dismiss all her household, as well as all the servants attending on her Royal Highness; and that she must immediately take up her residence in Carlton House, till she should be removed to Cranbourne Lodge. Some warm expostulations took place on the part of the Princess, but the Regent was inflexible; and at length he appeared to have convinced her of the propriety of obedience to his will on this important occasion. His Royal Highness, however, was mistaken; for on his proposing to introduce to the Princess her future attendants, the Ladies Rosslyn and Ilchester, &c. she begged leave previously to retire for a few moments; a request which was, of course, readily granted. Instead, however, of returning, the high-spirited Princess, in a fit of desperation, privately left the house, and running into Cockspur-street, actually threw herself into a hackney-coach; and, after having asked the coachman, if she might depend on his protection, declared who she was, and ordered him to drive to Connaught House, then the residence of her mother! On her arrival she found that the Princess of Wales was not at home; but Mr. Sicard, the steward, instantly dispatched a messenger to her, and she was met on the road returning from Blackheath, who, on the receipt of the intelligence, immediately drove to the Parliament House, and asked for Mr. Whitbread; but he did not happen to be there. She then inquired at the House of Lords for Earl Grey, who unfortunately was then out of town. Her Royal

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Highness then drove with all speed to Connaught House, and there found her agitated and distracted daughter. Mr. Brougham, by this time having been sent for, had arrived, when a consultation took place as to what had best be done in this extraordinary and unexpected case.

The flight of the Princess naturally caused the greatest consternation in the minds of the Prince Regent, and the ladies left at Warwick House. The principal ministers of state were immediately sent for, and a cabinet council was held at the Foreign Office, as also another at Carlton House. The Queen, also, who was then engaged at a card party, was apprized of the circumstance; and she instantly left the company.

Information having been obtained of the place of retreat of the Princess, the Bishop of Salisbury and the Duke of York were sent to remonstrate with her; and, agreeably to the Prince's commands, to bring her instantly to Carlton House. She had been informed, that the law positively enjoined her to pay the strictest obedience to the commands of her father: and upon the assurance of the Duke of York, that she should not be treated with severity, she consented to return with him.

It appeared that Mrs. Lewis had followed the Princess to Connaught House, with her night-clothes; and she returned with her in the carriage to Carlton House. With the exception of this female, all her Royal Highness' attendants and servants were instantly discharged.

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This circumstance becoming publicly known, created a very strong sensation throughout the nation; but it had no other effect than that of laying the Princess Charlotte under still stronger restrictions; and, on the 18th of the same month, she was removed to Cranbourne Lodge, where she lived for some time, not in the most agreeable manner, as may be very readily conceived.

The time now approached when her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales resolved to quit this country and to reside on the continent. This resolution, of course, very greatly added to the distresses of the Princess Charlotte. Rigid as were the orders respecting her intercourse with her mother, she was permitted, though not privately, to visit Connaught House, to take a last farewell of her distressed and afflicted parent. I will not trust myself with any attempt to describe a scene which can be so much easier and so much more correctly imagined than depicted.

I must not indulge farther in this outline of the life of this amiable Princess. The circumstances of her marriage with the excellent Leopold: the prospects of the long, happy, and fruitful results of that union; the affection with which it was every day cemented; the birth and death of a young Prince, and that of its lovely mother; the grief of the disconsolate widower; and the overwhelming distress of the whole nation, are all facts so strongly imprinted on the minds of Englishmen, and are so recorded in the annals of all Europe, they

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never will be forgotten, nor do they need to be repeated in this history.

The following apostrophe to the memory of this lamented Princess, which appeared in one of the public journals of the time, breathes the genuine sentiments of the whole nation on the melancholy occasion of the Princess's death:

> "Amidst th' acclaim of universal praise;
> In life and Glory's freshest bloom,
> Death came remorseless on, and sunk her to the tomb."
>
> LORD LYTTLETON.

"EVEN thus, in the flower of youth—in the bloom of loveliness—bright with anticipation—beaming with intelligence—beloved, and blest in the fulness of mutual affection—surrounded with splendour—sweetened by self desert—gifted to irradiate the glory of a throne, or shed lustre on retirement—her Native Land's delight—her Royal Father's pride—her Princely Consort's All:—Even thus, in the rich harvest of the past—in the fond promise of the future—fell, like a "lily o'ercharged with rain," the fairest of BRUNSWICK'S daughters.

"Peace to her Angel Spirit!—sad and desolate are the mourners she has left behind, for her life was lovely and full of hope. In the smile of her benevolence she cherished the poor and forsaken ones—and they shall cherish her name, and venerate her memory, in unpolluted tears, fast flowing from the heart. Peace to her Angel Spirit! for she was *all* her Albion's daughter—glowing with Patriotism—but she is gone—her beauteous star is set for ever—and Albion weeps her lovely one.

"Peace to her Angel Spirit! for she was Brunswick's sweetest flower—Beauty sparkled in her eye—Hope hung enraptured on her smile—and Pity and Charity, like twin roses, grew together in her gentle bosom, "stealing and giving odours." Weep, Albion, for thy fondest hope is blasted—Weep, Brunswick, for thy brightest gem is faded—Weep!—Yet wherefore weep?—her life was spotless, and eternal happiness is her reward."

We will now resume the interesting but afflicting details of the life of this sainted Princess's mother.

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CHAPTER V.

It is now the historian's duty to enter upon, by far the most painful and interesting portion of her late Majesty's life. To do justice to the subject without appearing somewhat tedious in the detail will be no very easy task. It will be necessary, in this chapter, to combine within as narrow a compass as possible, the substance of nearly four hundred closely printed pages, occupied in those highly curious and interesting documents forming altogether what has been emphatically denominated "*The Delicate Investigation,*" and published a few years ago under the title of "The Book," of which numerous spurious and very inaccurate editions were printed. The one, however, to which I have been indebted for the extracts made in this volume, is an exact and faithful reprint of the original genuine edition, printed by Edwards, of Fleet Street, and partially published by Lindsell, in the year 1807, and aftewards bought up at an enormous price by the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval. The reader may rest assured, that nothing of the slightest interest in that curious farrago of calumny, indecency, and just argumentation, has been here omitted.

The reader has already been made acquainted with the rise and progress of the "differences" between his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and his illustrious consort: I wish I had only to

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relate the decline and fall of that unhappy state of domestic warfare.

Unfortunately for the happiness and reputation of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, in the year 1801, she took up her residence at Blackheath, a fine elevated tract of country in the county of Kent, about five miles S. E. of London, on which stand several most delightful small houses and numerous very beautiful and elegant mansions. At this place her Royal Highness had the misfortune to form a very intimate acquaintance with the family of Sir John Douglas, whose name has already been mentioned more than once in these memoirs. Of the manner in which that acquaintance was originally formed, the reader will learn from the ensuing

STATEMENT OF LADY DOUGLAS.*

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having judged proper to order me to detail to him, as heir apparent, the whole circumstances of my acquaintance with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, from the day I first spoke with her to the present time, I felt it my duty, as a subject, to comply without hesitation with his Royal Highness's commands: and I did so, because I conceived, even putting aside the rights of an heir apparent, his Royal Highness was justified in informing himself as to the actions of his wife, who, from all the information he had collected, seemed so likely to disturb the tranquillity of the country; and it appeared to me that, in so doing, his Royal Highness evinced his earnest regard for the real interest of the country, in endeavouring to prevent such a person from, perhaps, one day placing a spurious

* In laying the necessary documents, whether in an abridged or a perfect state, before the reader, I shall not follow the order in which they are given in "*The Book*," but agreeably to their respective dates.

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heir upon the English Throne, and which his Royal Highness has indeed a right to fear, and communicate to the Sovereign, as the Princess of Wales told me, "If she were discovered in bringing her son into the world, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit of it for that she had slept two nights in the year she was pregnant at Carlton House."

As an Englishwoman, educated in the highest respectful attachment to the royal family; as the daughter of an English officer, who has all his life received the most gracious marks of approbation and protection from his Majesty, and from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and as the wife of an officer, whom our beloved King has honoured with a public mark of his approbation, and who is bound to the royal family by ties of respectful regard and attachment, which nothing can ever break, I feel it my duty to make known the Princess of Wales's sentiments and conduct, now, and whensoever I may be called upon.

For the information, therefore, of his Majesty and of the heir apparent, and by the desire of the heir apparent, I beg leave to state, that Sir John took a house upon Blackheath in the year 1801, because the air was better for him, after his Egyptian services, than London, and it was somewhat nearer Chatham, where his military duties occasionally called him. I had a daughter, born upon the 17th of February, and we took up our residence there in April, living very happily and quietly; but in the month of November, when the ground was covered with snow, as I was sitting in my parlour, which commanded a view of the Heath, I saw, to my surprise, the Princess of Wales, elegantly dressed in a lilac satin pelisse, primrose-coloured half boots, and a small lilac satin travelling cap, faced with sable, and a lady, pacing up and down before the house, and sometimes stopping, as if desirous of opening the gate in the iron-railing to come in. At first I had no conception her Royal Highness really wished to come in, but must have mistaken the house for another person's, for I had never been made known to her, and I did not know that she knew where I lived. I stood at the window looking at her, and, as she looked very much, from respect, courtesied (as I understood was customary); to my astonishment she returned my courtesy by a familiar nod, and stopped. Old Lady Stuart, a West Indian lady, who lived in my immediate neighbourhood, and who was in the habit of coming in to see me, was in the room,

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and said, "You should go out, her Royal Highness wants to come in out of the snow." Upon this I went out, and she came immediately to me and said, "I believe you are Lady Douglas, and you have a very beautiful child; I should like to see it." I answered that I was Lady Douglas. Her Royal Highness then said, "I should like of all things to see your little child." I answered, that I was very sorry I could not have the honour of presenting my little girl to her, as I and my family were spending the cold weather in town, and I was only come to pass an hour or two upon the Heath. I held open the gate, and the Princess of Wales and her lady, Miss Heyman (I believe), walked in and sat down, and stayed above an hour, laughing very much at Lady Stuart, who, being a singular character, talked all kind of nonsense. After her Royal Highness had amused herself as long as she pleased, she inquired where Sir John Douglas and Sir Sidney Smith were, and went away, having shook hands with me, and expressed her pleasure at having found me out and made herself known: I concluded that Sir Sidney Smith had acquainted her Royal Highness that we resided upon the Heath, as he was just arrived in England, and having been in long habits of friendship with Sir John, was often with us, and told us how kind he should think it if we could let him come to and fro without ceremony, and let him have an airy room appropriated to himself, as he was always ill in town, and from being asthmatic, suffered extremely when the weather was foggy. Sir John gave him that hospitable reception he was in the habit of doing by all his old friends, (for I understand they have been known to each other more than twenty years,) and he introduced him to me as a person, to whom he wished my friendly attention to be paid; as I had never seen Sir Sidney Smith in my life, until this period, when he became, as it were, a part of the family. When I returned to town, I told Sir John Douglas the circumstance of the Princess having visited me, and a few days after this, we received a note from Mrs. Lisle (who was in waiting) commanding us to dine at Montague House. We went, and there were several persons at the dinner. I remember Lord and Lady Dartmouth, and I think Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, &c. &c. From this time the Princess made me frequent visits, always attended by her ladies, or Mrs. Sander (her maid). When Sander came, she was sent back, or put in another room; but when any of her ladies were with her,

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we always sat together. Her Royal Highness was never attended by any livery servants, but she always walked about Blackheath and the neighbourhood only with her female attendants. In a short time, the Princess became so extravagantly fond of me, that, however flattering it might be, it certainly was very troublesome. Leaving her attendants below, she would push past my servant, and run up stairs into my bedchamber, kiss me, take me in her arms, and tell me I was beautiful, saying she had never loved any woman so much; that she would regulate my dress, for she delighted in setting off a pretty woman; and such high-flown compliments that women are never used to pay to each other. I used to beg her Royal Highness not to feed my self-love, as we had all enough of that, without encouraging one another. She would then stop me, and enumerate all my good points I had, saying she was determined to teach me to set them off. She would exclaim, Oh! believe me, you are quite beautiful, different from almost any English woman; your arms are fine beyond imagination, your bust is very good, and your eyes, oh, I never saw such eyes—all other women who have dark eyes look fierce, but yours (my dear Lady Douglas) are nothing but softness and sweetness, and yet quite dark. In this manner she went on perpetually, even before strangers. I remember when I was one morning at her house, with her Royal Highness, Mrs. Harcourt, and her ladies, the Duke of Kent came to take leave before his Royal Highness went to Gibraltar. When we were sitting at table, the Princess introduced me, and said—your Royal Highness must look at her eyes: but now she has disguised herself in a large hat, you cannot see how handsome she is. The Duke of Kent was very polite and obliging, for he continued to talk with Mrs. Harcourt, and took little notice, for which I felt much obliged; but she persisted, and said—take off your hat. I did not do it, and she took it off; but his Royal Highness, I suppose, conceiving it could not be very pleasant to me, took little notice, and talked of something else.

Whenever the Princess visited us, either Sir John, or I, returned home with her and her party quite to the door; and if he were out, I went with her Royal Highness, and took my footman; for we soon saw that her Royal Highness was a very singular and a very indiscreet woman, and we resolved to be always very careful and guarded with her; and when she visited us, if any visiter

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whosoever came to our house, they were put into another room, and they could not see the Princess, or be in her society, unless she positively desired it. However her Royal Highness forgot her high station (and she was always forgetting it), we trust, and hope, and feel satisfied, we never, for a moment, lost sight of her being the wife of the heir apparent.

We passed our time as her Royal Highness chose when together, and the usual amusements were—playing French proverbs, in which the Princess always cast the parts, and played; musical magic; forfeits of all kinds; sometimes dancing; and in this manner, either the Princess and her ladies with me, or we at Montague House, we passed our time. Twice, after spending the morning with me, she remained without giving me any previous notice, and would dine with us, and thus ended the year 1801.

In the month of February, before Miss Garth was to come into waiting in March 1802, the Princess, in one of her morning visits, after she had sent Sander home, said, "My dear Lady Douglas, I am come to see you this morning to ask a great favour of you, which I hope you will grant me." I told her, "I was sure she could not make any unworthy request, and that I would only say I should have great pleasure in doing any thing to oblige her, but I was really at a loss to guess how I possibly could have it in my power to grant her a favour." Her Royal Highness replied, "what I have to ask is for you to come and spend a fortnight with me; you shall not be separated from Sir John, for he may be with you whenever he pleases, and bring your little girl and maid. I mean you to come to the Round Tower, where there are a complete suit of rooms for a lady and her servant. When Mrs. Lisle was in waiting, and hurt her foot, she resided there; Miss Heyman always was there, and Lord and Lady Lavington have slept there. When I have any married people visiting me, it is better than their being in the house, and we are only separated by a small garden. I dislike Miss Garth, and she hates to be with me, more than what her duty demands, and I don't wish to trouble any of my ladies out of their turn. I shall require you, as lady in waiting, to attend me in my walks; and when I drive out; write my notes and letters for me, and be in the way to speak to any one who may come on business. I seldom appear until about three o'clock, and you may go home before I want you after breakfast every day." I replied, that being

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a married woman, I could not promise for myself, and, as Sir John was much out of health, I should not like to leave him; but he was always so kind and good-natured to me, that I dared to venture to say he would allow me if he could; and when he came home I asked him if I should go. Sir John agreed to the Princess's desire, and I took the waiting. During my stay I attended her Royal Highness to the play and the opera I think twice, and also to dine at Lord Dartmouth's and Mr. Windham's. At Mr. Windham's, in the evening, while one of the ladies was at the harpsichord, the Princess complained of being very warm, and called out for ale, which, by a mistake in the language, she always calls *oil*. Mrs. Windham was perfectly at a loss to comprehend her wishes, and came to me for an explanation. I told her I believed she meant ale. Mrs. Windham said she had none in the house, was it any particular kind she required? I told her I believed not; that when the Princess thought proper to visit me, she always wanted it, and I gave her what I had, or could procure for her upon Blackheath. We could not always suddenly obtain what was wished. Mrs. Windham then proposed to have some sent for, and did so; it was brought, and the Princess drank it all.—When at Lord Dartmouth's, his Lordship asked me if I was the only lady in waiting, being, I supposed, surprised at my appearing in that situation, when, to his knowledge, I had not known the Princess more than four months. I answered, I was at Montague House, acting as lady in waiting, until Miss Garth was well, as the Princess told me she was ill. Lord Dartmouth looked surprised and said he had not heard of Miss Garth being ill, and was surprised. I was struck with Lord Dartmouth's seeming doubt of Miss Garth's illness, and after, thought upon it. From the dinner we went at an early hour to the opera, and then returned to Blackheath. During this visit I was greatly surprised at the whole style of the Princess of Wales's conversation, which was constantly very loose, and such as I had not been accustomed to hear; such as, in many instances, I have not been able to repeat, even to Sir John, and such as made me hope I should cease to know her, before my daughter might be old enough to be corrupted by her. I confess I went home hoping and believing she was at times a good deal disordered in her senses, or she never would have gone on as she did. When she came to sup with me in the Tower (which she often did) she would arrive in a long

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red cloak, a silk handkerchief tied over her head under her chin, and a pair of slippers down at the heels.

After supper I attended her to the house. I found her a person without education or talents, without any desire of improving herself. Amongst other things which surprised me while there, was a plan she told me she had in hand; that Prince William of Gloucester liked me, and that she had written to him, to tell him that a fair lady was in her Tower, that she left it to his own heart to find out who it was, but if he was the gallant prince she thought him, he would fly and see. I was amazed at such a contrivance, and said, good, God! how could your Royal Highness do so? I really like Sir John better than any body, and am quite satisfied and happy. I waited nine years for him, and would never marry any other person. The Princess ridiculed this, and said nonsense, nonsense, my dear friend. In consequence of the Princess's note, Prince William actually rode the next morning to the Tower, but by good fortune Sir Sidney Smith had previously called and been admitted, and as we were walking by the house, her Royal Highness saw the Prince coming, went immediately out of sight, and ran and told a servant to say she and I were gone a walking, and we immediately walked away to Charlton, having first, unperceived, seen Prince William ride back again, (of course not very well pleased, and possibly believing I had a hand in his ridiculous adventure.) It seems he was angry; for soon after his Royal Highness, the late Duke of Gloucester, came and desired to see the Princess, and told her, that his son William had represented to him how very free she permitted Sir Sidney Smith to be, and how constantly he was visiting at Montague House; that it rested with herself to keep her acquaintance at a proper distance, and as Sir Sidney was a lively, thoughtless man, and had not been accustomed to the society of ladies of her rank, he might forget himself, and she would then have herself to blame—that as a father, and an earnest friend, he came to her, very sorry indeed to trouble her, but he conjured and begged her to recollect how very peculiar her situation was, and how doubly requisite it was she should be more cautious than other people. To end this lecture (as she called it) she rang the bell, and desired Mrs.* Cole to fetch me. I went into the drawing-room, where the Duke and her

* Query, Mr. Cole.

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Royal Highness were sitting, and she introduced me as an old friend of Prince William's. His Royal Highness got up, and looked at me very much, and then said, "The Princess has been talking a great deal about you, and tells me you have *made* one of the most delightful children in the world, and indeed it might well be so, when the mother was so handsome and good-natured-looking." By this time I was so used to these fine speeches, either from the Princess, or from her through others, that I was ready to laugh, and I only said, "We did not talk about much beauty, but my little girl was in good health, and her Royal Highness was very obliging." As soon as his Royal Highness was gone, the Princess sent again for me, told me every word he had said, and said "He is a good man, and therefore I took it as it was meant; but if Prince William had ventured to talk to me himself, I would certainly have boxed his ears: however, as he is so inquisitive, and watches me, I will cheat him, and throw the dust in his eyes, and make him believe Sir Sidney comes here to see you, and that you and he are the greatest possible friends. I delight of all things in cheating those clever people." Her speech and her intentions made me serious, and my mind was forcibly struck with the great danger there would follow to myself, if she were this kind of person. I begged of her not to think of doing such a thing, saying, your Royal Highness knows it is not so, and although I would do much to oblige you, yet, when my own character is at stake, I must stop. Good God, Ma'am, his Royal Highness would naturally repeat it, and what should I do? Reputation will not bear being sported with. The Princess took me by the hand, and said, certainly, my dear Lady Douglas, I know very well it is not so, and therefore it does not signify. I am sure it is not so, *that* I am sure of. I have much too good an opinion of you, and too good an opinion of Sir Sidney Smith. It would be very bad in him, after Sir John's hospitality to him. I know him incapable of such a thing, for I have known him for a long time; but still I wonder too in the same house it does not happen. By this time I was rather vexed, and said, your Royal Highness and I think quite differently—Sir Sidney Smith comes and goes as he pleases to his room in our house. I really see little of him. He seems a very good-humoured, pleasant man, and I always think one may be upon very friendly

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terms with men who are friends of one's husbands, without being their humble servants. The Princess argued upon this for an hour, said, This is Miss Garth's argument, but she was mistaken, and it was ridiculous. If ever a woman was upon friendly terms with any man, they were sure to become lovers. I said, I shall continue to think as Miss Garth did, and that it depended very much upon the lady. Upon the 29th of March, I left Montague House, and the Princess commanded me to be sent up to her bed-chamber. I went and found her in bed, and I took Mrs. Vansittart's note in my hand, announcing the news of peace. She desired me to sit down close to the bed, and then taking my hand, she said, "You see, my dear friend, I have the most complaisant husband in the world—I have no one to controul *me*—I see whom I like, I go where I like, I spend what I please, and his Royal Highness pays for all—other English husbands plague their wives, but he never plagues me at all, which is certainly being very polite and complaisant, and I am better off than my sister, who was heartily beat every day. How much happier am I than the Duchess of York! She and the Duke hate each other, and yet they will be two hypocrites, and live together—that I would never do.—Now I'll show you a letter wherein the Prince of Wales gives me full leave to follow my own plans." She then put the letter into my hands, the particulars of which I have mentioned. When I had finished, I appeared affected, and she said, "You seem to think that a fine thing; now I see nothing in it; but I dare to say that when my beloved had finished it, he fancied it one of the finest pieces of penmanship in the world. I should have been the man, and he the woman. I am a real Brunswick, and do not know what the sensation fear is; but as to him, he lives in eternal warm water, and delights in it, if he can but have his slippers under any old Dowager's table, and sit there scribbling notes; that's his whole delight." She then told me every circumstance relative to her marriage, and that she would be separated, and that she had invited the chancellor very often lately, to try and accomplish it, but they were stupid, and told her it could not be done. It appeared to me that at this time her Royal Highness's mind was bent upon the accomplishment of this purpose; and it would be found, I think, from Lord Eldon and the others, that she pressed

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this subject close upon them, whenever they were at Montague House; for she told me more than once she had.* Her Royal Highness, before she put the letter by said, "I always keep this, for it is ever necessary. I will go into the House of Lords with it myself. The Prince of Wales desires me in that letter, to choose my own plan of life, and amuse myself as I like; and also, when I lived in Carlton House, he often asked me why I did not select some particular gentleman for my friend, and was surprised I did not."—She then added, "I am not treated at all as a Princess of Wales ought to be. As to the friendship of the Duke of Gloucester's family, I understand that Prince William would like to marry either my daughter or me, if he could. I now, therefore, am desirous of forming a society of my own choosing, and I beg you always to remember, all your life, that I shall always be happy to see you. I think you very discreet, and the best woman in the world, and I beg you to consider the Tower always as your own; there are offices, and you might almost live there; and if Sir John is ever called away, do not go home to your family; it is not pleasant after people have children, therefore always come to my Tower. I hope to see you there very soon again. The Prince has offered me sixty thousand if I'll go and live at Hanover, but I never will; this is the only country in the world to live in." She then kissed me, and I took my leave.

While I had been in the Round Tower in Montague House, which only consists of two rooms and a closet on a floor, I had always my maid and child slept within my room, and Sir John was generally with me: he and all my friends having free permission to visit. Mrs.† Cole (the Page) slept over my room, and a watchman went round the Tower all night.—Upon my return home, the same apparent friendship continued, and in one of her Royal Highness's evening visits she told me, she was come to have a long conversation with me, that she had been in a great agitation, and I must guess what had happened to her. I guessed

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* The chancellor may now, perhaps, be able to grant her request.

N. B. *The passage contained in this note is, in the authenticated copy transmitted to the Princess of Wales, placed in the margin.*

† Query, Mr. Cole.

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a great many things, but she said No to them all, and then I said I give it up, for I had no idea what she could mean, and therefore might guess my whole life without success. "Well then, I must tell you," said her Royal Highness, "but I am sure you know all the while. I thought you had completely found me out, and therefore I came to you, for you looked droll when I called for ale and fried onions and potatoes, and when I said I eat tongue and chickens at my breakfasts; that I would sure as my life you suspected me; tell me honestly, did you not?" I affected not to understand the Princess at all, and did not really comprehend her. She then said, "Well, I'll tell; I am with child, and the child came to life when I was breakfasting with Lady Willoughby. The milk flowed up into my breast so fast, that it came through my muslin gown, and I was obliged to pretend that I had spilt something, and go up stairs to wipe my gown with a napkin, and got up stairs into Lady Willoughby's room, and did very well, but it was an unlucky adventure." I was, indeed, most sincerely concerned for her, conceiving it impossible but she must be ruined, and I expressed my sorrow in the strongest terms, saying, what would she do? She could never carry such an affair through, and I then said, I hoped she was mistaken. She said No, she was sure of it, and these sort of things only required a good courage; that she should manage very well; but though she told me she would not employ me in the business, for I was like all the English women, so very nervous, and she had observed me so frightened a few days past, when a horse galloped near me, that she would not let me have any thing to do for the world. The Princess added, "You will be surprised to see how well I manage it, and I am determined to suckle the child myself." I expressed my great apprehensions, and asked her what she would do if the Prince of Wales seized her person when she was a wet-nurse? She said she would never suffer any one to touch her person. She laughed at my fears, and added, "You know nothing about these things; if you had read *Les Avantures du Chevalier de Grammont*, you would know better what famous tricks Princesses and their ladies played then, and you shall and must read the story of Catherine Parr and a Lady Douglas of those times; have you never heard of it?" She then related it, but as I never had heard of it, I looked upon it as her own invention to reconcile my mind to these kind of things. After this we often met, and the

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Princess often alluded to her situation and to mine, and one day as we were sitting together upon the sofa, she put her hand upon her stomach, and said, laughing, "Well, here we sit like Mary and Elizabeth, in the Bible." When she was bled, she used to press me always to be, and used to be quite angry that I would not, and whatever she thought good for herself, always recommended to me. Her Royal Highness now took every occasion to estrange me from Sir John, by laughing at him, and wondering how I could be content with him; urged me constantly to keep my own room, and not to continue to sleep with him, and said, if I had any more children, she would have nothing more to say to me. Her design was evident, and easily seen through, and consequently averted. She naturally wished to keep us apart, lest, in a moment of confidence, I should repeat what she had divulged, and if she estranged me from my husband, she kept me to herself. I took especial care, therefore, that my regard for him should not be undermined. I never told him her situation, and, contrary to her wishes, Sir John and I remained upon the same happy terms we always had.

It will scarcely be credited, (nevertheless it is strictly true, and those who were present must avow it, or perjure themselves) what liberty the Princess gave both to her thoughts and her tongue, in respect to every part of the Royal Family. It was disgusting to us, beyond the power of language to describe, and upon such occasions we always believed and hoped she could not be aware of what she was talking about, otherwise common family affection, common sense, and common policy, would have kept her silent. She said before the two Fitzgeralds, Sir Sidney Smith, and ourselves, that when Mr. Addington had his house given, him, his Majesty did not know what he was about, and waved her hand round and round her head, laughing, and saying, "Certainly he did not; but the Queen got twenty thousand, so that was all very well." We were all at a loss, and no one said any thing. This was at my house one morning; the rest of the morning passed in abusing Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth,) and her critiques upon him closed by saying, "It was not much wonder a peace was not lasting, when it was made by the son of a quack doctor." Before Miss Hamond, one evening at my house, she said, Prince William is going to Russia, and there is to be a grand alliance with a Russian Princess, but it is not very likely

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a Russian Princess will marry the grandson of a washerwoman." Sir Sidney Smith, who was present, begged her pardon, asserted it was not so, and wished to stop her, but she contradicted him, and entered into all she knew of the private history of the Duchess's mother, saying, "she was literally a common washerwoman, and the Duchess need not to take so much pains not to expose her skin to the open air, when her mother had been in it all day long." When she was gone, Sir John was very much disgusted, and said, Her conversation had been so low and ill-judged, and so much below her, that he was perfectly ashamed of her, and she disgraced her station. Sir Sidney Smith agreed, and confessed he was astonished, for it must be confessed she was not deserving of her station. After the Duke of Kent had been so kind as to come and take leave of her, before he last left England, upon the day I mentioned, she delivered her critique upon his Royal Highness, saying, "He had the manners of a Prince, but was a disagreeable man, and not to be trusted, and that his Majesty had told him, 'Now, Sir, when you go to Gibraltar, do not make such a trade of it as you did when you went to Halifax.' The Princess repeated, "Upon my honour it is true; the King said, 'Do not make such a trade of it.'" She went on to say, "the Prince at first ordered them all to keep away, but they came now sometimes: however they were no loss, for there is not a man among them all whom any one can make their friend." As I was with the Princess one morning in her garden house, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland waited upon her. As soon as he was gone she said, "He was a foolish boy, and had been asking her a thousand foolish questions." She then told me every word of his secrets, which he had been telling her; in particular, a long story of Miss Keppel, and that he said, the old woman left them together, and wanted to take him in, and, therefore, he had cut the connection. She said, she liked his countenance best, but she could trace a little family likeness to herself; but for all the rest they were very ill made, and had plum-pudding faces, which she could not bear. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was next ridiculed. She said, "he looked exactly like a sergeant, and so vulgar with his ears full of powder." This was her Royal Highness's usual and favourite mode of amusing herself and her company. The conversation was always about men, praising the English men, reviling all English women, as

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being the ugliest creatures in the world, and the worst, and always engaged in some project or another, as the impulse of the moment might prompt, without regard to consequences or appearances. Whether she amused other people in the same way, I know not, but she chose to relate to me every private circumstance she knew relative to every part of the Royal Family, and also every thing relative to her own, with such strange anecdotes, and circumstantial accounts of things that never are talked of, that I again repeat, I hope I shall never hear again; and I remember once in my lying-in-room, she gave such an account of Lady Anne Wyndham's marriage, and all her husband said on the occasion, that Mrs. Fitzgerald sent her daughter out of the room, while her Royal Highness finished her story. Such was the person we found her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and as we continued to see her character and faults, Sir John and myself more and more, daily and hourly, regretted that the world could not see her as we did, and that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should have lost *any popularity*, when, from her own account (the only account we ever had), *she* was the aggressor from the beginning, herself *alone*, and I, as an humble individual, declare, that from the most *heartfelt* and unfeigned conviction, that I believe, if any other married woman had acted as her Royal Highness has done, I never yet have known a man who could have endured it; and her temper is so tyrannical, capricious, and furious, that no man on earth will ever bear it; and, in private life, any woman who had thus played and sported with her husband's comfort and her husband's popularity, would have been turned out of her house, or left by herself in it, and would deservedly have forfeited her place in society. I therefore again beg leave to repeat, from the conviction of my own unbiassed understanding, and the conviction of my own eyes, no human being could live with her, excepting her servants for their wages; and any poor unfortunate woman like the Fitzgeralds, for their dinner; and I trust and hope her real character will some time or another be displayed, that the people of this country may not be imposed upon. The Princess was now sometimes kind, and at others churlish, especially if I would not fall into her plans of ridiculing Sir John. About this time, one day at table with her, she began abusing Lady Rumbold, (whom she had invited to see her a few days before, to give her letters of recommendation if she went to

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Brunswick,) and as the abuse was in the usual violent vulgar style, and I had never seen Lady Rumbold but that one morning when she was her Royal Highness's guest, and cared nothing about her, I did not join in reviling her and Miss Rumbold. Sir Sidney Smith was present, and as there appeared a great friendship between the Rumbolds and him, I thought it not civil to him to say any thing, and one always conceives, in being quite silent, one must be safe from offending any party. I was, however, mistaken; for, observing me silent, she looked at me in a dreadful passion, and said, "Why don't you speak, Lady Douglas, I know you think her ugly as well as us—a vulgar common milliner; Lord Heavens! that she was; and her daughter looks just like a girl that walk up the street." I suppose she expected, by this thundering appeal, to force me to join in the abuse; but it had a contrary effect upon me. I chose to judge entirely for myself, and I was determined I would not; therefore, when she had raved until she could go on no longer, I said I did not think her ugly; it was a harsh term.—I thought her manner very bad, and that she was very ill-dressed; but when young, I thought she must have been a pretty woman. This was past her power of enduring, which I really did not know, or I would have remained silent. She fixed her eyes furiously upon me, and bawled out, "Then you're a liar, you're a liar, and the little child you're going to have will be a liar." I pushed my plate from me, eat no more, and remained silent, and my first impulse was to push back my chair and quit the house; but the idea that I should break up the party from table, and make a confusion, and also my not being able to walk home, and my carriage not being ordered until night, left me in my chair. The conversation was changed; at last, Sir Sidney said again, "Well, these ladies have had a severe trimming, they had better not have come to Blackheath, and there sits poor Lady Douglas, looking as if she were going to be executed." As I was very far advanced in my pregnancy, it agitated me greatly, and I remained aloof and very shy all the evening. When I afterwards wrote to Sir Sidney Smith for Sir John, upon some common occurrence, I said, I do not like the Princess of Wales's mode of treating her guests: her calling me a liar was an unpardonable thing, and if she ever speaks upon the subject to you, pray tell her I did not like it, and that if I had been a man, I would have rather died

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than endured it; that is a thing which never, by any chance, occurs to a lady; on a repetition of it I will give up her acquaintance. It seems Sir Sidney Smith spoke to the Princess upon the subject; for two days before I was confined, she made me a morning visit with the two Fitzgeralds, and, after having sat a short time, said, "I find you were very much affronted the other day at my house, when I called you a liar; I declare I did not mean it as an affront; Lord Heavens! in any other language it is considered a joke; is it not Mrs. Fitzgerald?" meaning, that in Germany it is a very good joke to call people liars (for Mrs. Fitzgerald does not know any language but German and English); Mrs. Fitzgerald absolutely said, Yes. They made me very nervous, and I burst into tears, and told the Princess I only wished her to understand such a thing was never done, and was far from desiring her to apologize to me; that I had now forgiven and forgotten it, though I confess, at the time, I was very much hurt, and very much wounded; that as I never heard of its being thought a joke in any country, I was not in the least prepared to receive it in that light! for that, in this country, ladies never used the expression, and men only to show their greatest contempt; that I never bore malice twelve hours in my life, and there was an end of the matter. The Fitzgeralds sat by sometimes as audience, approving by looks; sometimes as orators, begging me not to cry, (after they had all made me,) and praising her Royal Highness as the most magnanimous, amiable, good, beautiful, and gracious Princess in the world. In short, they tormented me till they made me quite hysterical; and the Princess began then to be frightened, and they all got up to look about the room for hartshorn, or something of that kind, to give me—the Princess crying, "Give her something, give her something; she is very much shook, and her nerves agitated; she will be taken ill." They gave me some water, I believe, and I did all I could to recover my spirits; but I felt in pain, and Sir John came in soon after, and as I knew it would hurry him if he saw me ill, I appeared as cheerful as I could, and they all went away, the Princess taking no notice to him. Her Royal Highness had always said, she would be at my lying-in from the beginning to the end, and commanded me constantly to let her know, saying, "I have no fear about me, and I would as soon come over the Heath in the middle of the night as in the day; I shall have

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a bottle of port wine on a table to keep up your spirits, a tambourine, and I'll make you sing." I was unwell all the night after her Royal Highness had been with me, and remained so all next day; and next morning, by six o'clock, was so ill, that Dr. Mackie, of Lewisham, who was to attend me, was sent for. In the forenoon I begged Sir John to write a note to Montague House, where it so happened I was to have dined with the party. He wrote that I had a head-ache, and begged leave to remain at home, and the Princess believed it, and went to town; but upon her return, at five o'clock in the afternoon, she called before she went home to dress, to ask after me, and finding how it was, wanted to run up into the room, but Dr. Mackie said positively she should not come, and locked the door nearest to him to keep her out. Miss Cholmondeley and Miss Fitzgerald were drove home, and her Royal Highness and Mrs. Fitzgerald stopped. Upon my giving a loud shriek she flew in at the other door, and came to me, doing every thing she possibly could to assist me, and held my eyes and head. The moment she heard the child's voice she left me, flew round to Dr. Mackie, pushed the nurse away, and received the child from Dr. Mackie, kissed it, and said no one should touch it until she had shown it to me. Dr. Mackie was so confused and astonished, that, although an old practitioner, he left the room, without giving me any thing to recruit my strength and avert fainting, as is the custom, and the nurse gave me what she thought best; by which omission, however, I was not subject to faint away, but it was certainly a new mode of proceeding where life is at stake, and showed more curiosity than tenderness for me. Before my little girl was brought to me, I observed, as her Royal Highness stood holding it, that Mrs. Fitzgerald, the nurse, and herself, were all intent, and speaking together, as if there was something peculiar in its appearance; the circumstance alarmed me, fearing it was born with some defect, and I asked eagerly to see it, and if all was right. The Princess upon this brought it to me, and said it was a remarkable large fine child, and they were only looking at a mark it had upon its left breast, certainly a very large one, and a little on its eyes, but it would go off. I recollected that, although I never, when in a pregnant state, was subject to whims, as longing, as thinking it very troublesome and foolish, yet I felt obliged, in this instance, to believe the old-received opinion to be correct; for it happened, that during my

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visit to Montague House, in March, I was one Sunday morning very much incommoded by pains in my chest and stomach, and her Royal Highness made Mrs. Sander give me some warm peppermint-water; there was raspberry-ice in the desert the same day, and I had just began to eat mine, when the Princess looked at me, and said, My dear Lady Douglas, you have forgotten the pain you were in this morning; and, turning to her page, ordered him to take away my plate.

(Signed) CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.
JOHN DOUGLAS.

In the presence of me,
(Signed)
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,
Dec. 3, 1805.

A true Copy,
(Signed) *B. Bloomfield.*

——Mr. Cole, the page, removed it, and I can never describe my disappointment; I was almost inclined to remonstrate, although there was a large party of strangers, and I did express a desire to retain it, but the Princess would not allow of it: and as she had appointed herself to the sole management of me, I was obliged to be quiet: my uneasiness, however, became extreme; and forgetting every thing but the ice in question, I asked a Mr. Hamer, who sat next to me, to be so good as to ask for some ice; and, by dint of asking him to do so, I at length induced him, and at last he asked Lady Townshend for some more ice. I immediately took my spoon, and stooping a little, so that the flowers upon the plateau concealed me in part from the Princess, eat all Mr. Hamer's ice, while he looked on laughing, and put his plate a little nearer to me that it might not look so odd. The following day I eat eight glasses of raspberry-ice at once and was very well after it: and from that time sought it every where, and eat of it voraciously; and I cannot help attributing the marks of my little girl to the circumstance. Her Royal Highness then kissed me, begged me to send for her whenever I liked, and she would come; desired I might have plenty of flannel about me, of which she had sent me some by Mrs. Fitzgerald, and then went home to dinner. I know not what she said or did among her party at home, but Miss Cholmondeley often

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said she should never forget the Princess on that day. All the month of August the Princess visited me daily; in one of these visits, after she had sent Mrs. Fitzgerald away, she drew her chair close to the bed, and said, "I am delighted to see how well and easily you have got through this affair; I, who am not the least nervous, shall make nothing at all of it. When you hear of my having taken children in baskets from poor people, take no notice; that is the way I mean to manage; I shall take any that offer, and the one I have will be presented in the same way, which, as I have taken others, will never be thought any thing about." I I asked her, how she would ever get it out of the house; but she said, Oh, very easily. I said it was a perilous business; I would go abroad if I were her: but she laughed at my fears, and said she had no doubt but of managing it all very well. I was very glad she did not ask me to assist her, for I was determined in my own mind never to do so, and she never did make any request of me, for which I was very thankful. I put the question to her, who she would get to deliver her? but she did not answer for a minute, and then said, I shall get a person over; I'll manage it, but never ask me about it; Sander was a good creature, and being immediately about her person and sleeping near her room, must be told; but Miss Ghaunt must be sent to Germany, and the third maid, a young girl, kept out of the way as well as they could. I suggested, I was afraid that her appearance at St. James's could not fail to be observed, and she would have to encounter all the Royal Family. Her reply was, That she knew how to manage her dress, and by continually increasing large cushions behind, no one would observe, and fortunately the birth-days were over, until she should have got rid of her appearance. In this manner passed all the time of my confinement, at the end of which she sent Mrs. Fitzgerald to attend me to church, and when I went to pay my duty to her Royal Highness, after I went abroad again, she told me, whenever I was quite stout, she would have the child christened, that she meant to stand in person, and I must find another godmother; Sir Sidney Smith would be the godfather. I named the Duchess of Athol, as a very amiable woman, of suitable rank, and said, that as there had been a long friendship betwixt Sir John's family and the Athol family, I knew it would be very agreeable to him. Finding they were gone to Scotland, we wrote to ask her Grace; and she wrote word she would stand godmother

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with great pleasure, and enclosed ten guineas for the nurse. The Princess invited Sir Sidney Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Smith, and Baron Herbert, and Sir John Douglas, to dine with her. Miss Cholmondeley and the two Fitzgeralds were with her Royal Highness, and in the evening they all came; I staid at home to receive her. The clergyman from Lewisham christened the child; the Princess named it Caroline Sidney. As soon as he was gone (which was shortly after the ceremony was over,) the Princess sat down upon the carpet—a thing she was very fond of doing, in preference to sitting upon the chairs, saying, it was the pleasantest lively affair altogether she had ever known. She chose to sit upon the carpet the whole evening, while we all sat upon the chairs. Her Royal Highness was dressed in the lace dress which, I think, she wore at Frogmore fête—pearl necklace, bracelets, and arm-bands, a pearl bandeau round her head, and a long lace veil. When supper was announced, her Royal Highness went and took the head of the table, and eat an amazing supper of chicken and potted lamprey, which she would have served to her on the same plate, and eat them together. After the supper she called the attention of the party to my good looks, and saying I was as lively and *espiegle* as ever; said, that I had such sharp eyes, I found her out in every thing, adding, Oh! she found me out one day in such a thing when I was at luncheon, and gave me a look which was so expressive, that I was sure she knew. This speech, which she, between herself and me, was algebra to the party. I did not know what to do, but I saw the secret cost her dear to keep, and she was ready to betray it to any one she met, by the strange things she said and did: I laughed and said, if my eyes have been too observing I am sorry, I never intended them to be; I cannot be quite so polite as to say, "if my sight offends I will put it out," because I think, with Sheridan, that the prejudice is strongly in favour of two; but depend upon it, at all future luncheons I will do nothing but eat. She was in great spirits, staid until two o'clock in the morning, and then, attended by Miss Cholmondeley and the Fitzgeralds, went home. Her Royal Highness's civilities continued; she desired me constantly to bring my children to Montague House, and also the infant: and when I would have retired to have suckled it, she would not suffer me, but commanded me to do it in the drawing-room where she was; and she came

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with her ladies visiting me both mornings and evenings, and nursing little Caroline for hours together. I saw now the Princess had told Mrs. Sander, who, I believe, was a very quiet good kind of woman, and her countenance was full of concern and anxiety. She appeared desirous of speaking to me, and was unusually obsequious; but the Princess always watched us both close; if Sander came into a room, and I went towards her, the Princess came close, or sent one or another away, so that I could never speak to her. The Princess had now quarrelled with Sir Sidney Smith, to whom she had been so partial, and to every part of whose family she had been so kind, telling us constantly that she liked them all, because old Mr. Smith had saved the Duke of Brunswick's life. As Sir John was Sir Sidney's friend, she therefore was shy of us all, and we saw little of her—but on the 20th of October I went to call upon her before I left Blackheath, and met her Royal Highness just returned from church, walking before her own house with Mrs. Fitzgerald and her daughter, dressed in a long Spanish velvet cloak and an enormous muff, but which together could not conceal the way she was in, for I saw directly she was very near her time, and think I must have seen it if I had not known her situation. She appeared morose, and talked a little, but did not ask to go in, and after taking a few turns returned home. In about a fortnight we received a note, the Princess requesting neither Sir John or I to go to Montague House, as her servants were afraid some of the children she had taken had the measles, and if any infection remained about the house, we might carry it to our child. We wrote a note expressive of our thanks for her obliging precautions, and that we would not go to Montague House, until we had the honour of receiving her Royal Highness's commands. The Princess never sent for us, and when I left my card before I went to pass Christmas in Gloucestershire, I was not admitted: so that *I never saw her after the* 13*th** *of October;* but I heard the report of her having adopted an infant, and Miss Fitzgerald told it me as she rode past my house, but would not come in, *for fear she should bring the measles.* Upon my return to Blackheath in January, I called to pay my duty. I found her packing a small black box, and an infant sleeping on a sofa, with a piece of scarlet cloth thrown

* 30th.

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over it. She appeared confused, and hesitated whether she should be rude or kind, but recovering herself, chose to be the latter; said, she was happy to see me, and then taking me by the hand led me to the sofa, and uncovering the child, said, Here is the little boy, I had him two days after I saw you last; is not it a nice little child? the upper part of his face is very fine. She was going to have said more, when Mrs. Fitzgerald opened the door and came in. The Princess consulted what I had better have, what would be good for me. I declined any thing, but she insisted upon it I should have some soup, and said, my dear Fitzgerald, pray go out and order some nice brown soup to be brought here for Lady Douglass. I saw from this the Princess wished to have spoken to me more fully, and Mrs. Fitzgerald saw it likewise, for instead of obeying, she rung the bell for the soup, and then sat down to tell me the whole fable of the child having been brought by a poor woman from Deptford, whose husband had left her, that Mr. Stikeman the page, had the honour of bringing it in, that it was a poor little ill-looking thing when first brought, but now, with such great care, was growing very pretty, and that as her Royal Highness was so good, and had taken the twins (whose father would not let them remain) and taken this, all the poor people would be bringing children. The Princess now took the child up, and I was entertained the whole morning by seeing it fed, and *every service of every kind performed for it by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.* Mrs. Fitzgerald aired the napkins, and *the Princess put them on;* and from this time the drawing-rooms at Montague House, were literally in the style of a common nursery. The tables were covered with spoons, plates, feeding-boats, and clothes, round the fire; napkins were hung to air, and the *marble hearths were strewed with napkins which were taken from the child;* for, very extraordinary to relate, *this* was a part of the ceremony *her Royal Highness was particularly tenacious of always performing herself,* let the company be who they might. At first the child slept with her she told me, but it made her nervous, and therefore a nurse was hired to assist in taking charge of it, and for him to sleep with. The Princess said one day to me as she was nursing him, he had a little milk for two or three days, but it did not do, so we bring him up by hand with all kind of nourishing things, and you see how well he thrives; so that I

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really always supposed she had attempted to suckle it. Another time she shewed me his hand, which has a pink mark upon it, and said, it was very singular *both our children* should be marked, and she thought *her child's* came from her having some wine thrown on her hand, for she did not look much at little Caroline's mark. The Princess now adopted a new mode of inviting us to see her. She would invite either Sir John, or I, but never both together as formerly. I concluded from *this*, that as she found it so difficult to keep *even her own secret*, she could ill imagine I had been able *to keep hers*, and therefore under the impression that by *that time* I must have told Sir John, did not like to meet both our eyes; and if she saw Sir John without me, could better judge by his looks and manner whether I had divulged or not. I conclude she was at length satisfied I had not: for we were one morning both invited again in the former manner, to a breakfast, and as it was a very curiously arranged party, I will put down the names, for to the person who is to peruse this detail, it will confirm the idea that her Royal Highness cannot always know correctly what she is about. When we entered, the Princess was sitting upon the sofa, elegantly dressed in a white and silver drapery, which covered her head and fell all over her person, and she had her little boy upon her knee elegantly dressed likewise. The guests were, her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte of Wales, with Miss Hunt, her Governess, Captain Manby, of the Navy, Mr. Spencer Smith, the Fitzgeralds, and ourselves. She got up and nursed the child, and carrying it to Sir John, said, "Here, Sir John, this is the Deptford boy, I suppose you have heard I have taken a little child." Sir John only said, Yes, he had, and it seemed a fine baby. She seemed pleased and satisfied that I had not told him, and then sat down to table, putting a chair for Princess Charlotte on her right hand, taking me by the hand and putting me on her left hand, told Captain Manby to sit at the top, and Mr. Spencer Smith at the bottom, and Sir John and the Fitzgeralds faced us. Princess Charlotte had a plain dinner prepared for her in another room, according to custom, and came in when our desert was placed, when we all sat down again as we were sitting, except Miss Hunt, who was never ordered to sit, but stood a few yards from Princess Charlotte. About five o'clock her Royal Highness rose from table, the little boy was brought in again, Princess Charlotte played with

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it, and the Princess of Wales wished all of us a good morning, and we broke up, totally at a loss to conceive what amusement it could be to collect us together. This breakfast was a kind of *finale*. We had very little intercourse. Her Royal Highness would walk past our house, for the express purpose of shewing she did not mean to come in, and when we did see her she always abused Sir Sidney Smith. Often said, she wondered I liked to live at such a dull place as Blackheath, and in short, gave us hints we could not misunderstand, that she wanted us away. At this time Sir John received a letter from his division, expressive of the General's wish that he would go to Plymouth, and therefore (without an Admiralty Order) he determined to go to emancipate ourselves from the Princess of Wales, and as soon as we could dispose of the furniture, I followed him, leaving the house empty, which was ours three months after I quitted it. The day Sir John was to set off, the Princess walked to the house, and though his trunks were in the room, and he was occupied, would have him sit down and talk to her, *overpowering* him and myself *now* with kindness, and said, she could eat something. She did so, staid four hours in the house, and at parting took Sir John by both hands, wished him every good wish, and begged him always to recollect how happy she should be to see him again, and that she would be *very kind to me in his absence*; however, after he was gone, she never came near me, or offered me any kind of civility whatsoever. When I was upon the eve of departure, I called upon her and took her god-daughter and my other little girl with me. She was almost uncivil, and paid little or no attention if I spoke. I said the children were with me, but she did not answer, and after speaking four or five hours very unpleasantly, suffering all the unpleasant feeling of being where I had been courted and idolized, I begged permission at last to go away. When I went out, to my surprise, I found the children had been kept in the passage near the front door, with the door open to Blackheath, in a December day, with four opposite doors opened and shut upon them, instead of being taken to the housekeeper's room, as they always had been. My maid had at length begged the footman to go to a fire, as the children cried dreadfully, and were very cold. I understand the man was a footman, of the name of Gaskin, I think, and his answer was, if the children are cold, you can put them back into the carriage, and warm them.

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I took them home immediately, and was inclined to return and ask why they had been thus all of a sudden treated with this brutality and impertinence, and which was doubly cruel in Sir John's absence; but I deferred going until I meant to take my final leave, which I did on the following Sunday. Doctor Burnaby was standing in the hall with every thing prepared for the Princess to receive the sacrament. I was ushered through notwithstanding, and the footmen seemed to go to and fro as much at their ease, as if no such thing was preparing. She was standing in the drawing-room, and received me with Mrs. Lisle and Mrs. Fitzgerald. I said I should have been gone before, had it been in my power, and in compliance with her commands, had come to take my leave. She did not ask me to sit down, but said—God bless you; good bye. I then said, I was much concerned I had brought my little girls a few days past, and that I should never have done so, but from her Royal Highness's repeated desire. She said, she was sorry; and asked who used them so. I told her, one of her livery servants, and Sir John would not like to hear of it. Her Royal Highness said, stop a moment; flew past me through the hall where Doctor Burnaby stood waiting for her, and returned with a white-paper box, pushing it into my hand—God bless you, my dear Lady Douglas. I said I wished to decline taking any thing, that my object in coming there was to offer her my duty, and tell her how ill my children had been used. I could not conceive how any footman could use the freedom of treating Sir John's children so, unless he had been desired. She only answered, "Oh! no, indeed: good bye." I attempted to put the box into her hands, saying I had rather not have it; but she dropt her hands and turned away. I therefore wished Mrs. Lisle and Miss Fitzgerald good morning, and went away. Dr. Burnaby spoke to me as I passed him, and, looking back, I saw her Royal Highness's head; she was looking out after me, to see if she had fairly got rid of me, and laughing immoderately at Dr. Burnaby in his gown, I quitted her house, resolved never to re-enter it but for forms-sake, and wrote her word, that as I had long been treated rudely, and my children, whom she courted to her house, were now insulted there, I felt a dislike to accept of a present thrown at me, as it were, under such unpleasant circumstances; that I had not untied the box, and requested she would permit me to return it: and that as I was an

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English gentlewoman, and defied her to say she had ever seen a single impropriety in my conduct, I would never suffer myself to be ill used without a clear explanation. The Princess wrote back a most haughty imperious reply, desiring me to keep the box, styled herself Princess of Wales in almost every line, and insulted me to such a degree, that I returned an answer insisting upon her explaining herself. This she returned unopened, saying, she would not open my second letter, and had therefore sent it to me to put in the fire, and that she was ready to put the matter in oblivion, as she desired me to do, wished me and my dear little children well, and should at all times be glad to see her former neighbour. I did as she desired, and went away at Christmas without ever seeing or hearing more of her Royal Highness, and found in the paper box a gold necklace, with a medallion suspended from it of a mock.

Thus ended my intercourse, for the present, with the Princess of Wales, and the year 1803.

When we resided in Devonshire, seeing by the papers that her Royal Highness was ill, we sent a note of inquiry to the lady in waiting, which was answered very politely, and even in a friendly manner by her Royal Highness's orders. Upon the arrival of the Duke of Sussex from abroad, Sir John returned to town to attend him, and when we drove to Blackheath to see our friends, I left my card for her Royal Highness, who was visiting Mr. Canning; the moment she returned home she commanded Mrs. Vernon to send me word never to repeat my visits to Blackheath. I gave Sir John the note, and must confess, accustomed as I had been to her haughty overbearing caprice, yet this exceeded my belief of what she was capable of, being so inconsistent with her two last letters; but the fact was, she thought we were gone above 200 miles from her, and should be there for many years, and she never calculated upon the return of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, having very often told me his Royal Highness would never live in England, in his Majesty's life-time; and she was certain of that, and had reasons for knowing it; and Sir John would never have him here. I suppose she had taken this into her head, because she wished it; and, therefore, the return of his Royal Highness was a mortal death-blow to all her hopes on this score; and when she found that his Royal Highness was not only returned, but that Sir John was in attendance, and that his Royal

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Highness was in Carlton House, where Sir John might see, and have the honour of being made known to the Prince of Wales, her *fear* and *rage* got the better of every prudent consideration, and she commanded Mrs. Vernon to dismiss me as I have mentioned. Had the Princess of Wales written to me herself, and told me, in a civil manner, that she would thank me to keep away, I should have acquainted her, that I wished and desired to do so, and had only called for the sake of appearances, and there the matter would have ended; unless I had ever been called upon (as I am now) by his Majesty, or the Heir Apparent. *In that case*, as in this, I should have made it my sacred duty to have answered, as upon my oath; but the circumstance of being driven out of her house by the hands of the lady in waiting, as if I had deserved it, and as if I were a culprit, was wounding one with a poisoned arrow, which left the wound to fester after it had torn and stabbed me; it was a refinement in insult, for the Princess had always been in the habit of writing to me *herself*, and had commanded me never to hold intercourse with her through her ladies, but *always* directly to *herself*; and so particular were her directions and permission upon this head, that she told me never to put my letters under cover, but always direct them to herself. I felt so miserable, that Mrs. Vernon, to whom I was known, and for whom Sir John and myself had an esteem, should think ill of me, and I therefore wrote to the Princess, saying, "From the moment she judged proper to come into my family, I had always conducted myself towards her Royal Highness with the respect her high station demanded; and that when she forced her secrets upon me, I had (whatsoever my sentiments were) kept them most honourably for her, never yet having even told Sir John, although I gave him my full confidence in all other things; nor had I even, under my present aggravation, imparted it, or meant;—that after such generous conduct on my part, I was at a loss to conceive what she proposed to *herself* by persecuting me; that I was afflicted at being so placed in the opinion of a good woman, like Mrs. Vernon, and who was free to say what she pleased upon the subject *every where*; that it was half as bad to be *thought* ill of as to deserve it; and that I would wait upon Mrs. Vernon, and detail to her a circumstantial account of every thing which had occurred since I had known her Royal Highness; and I would acquaint my husband and family with the same, and leave them,

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and the circle of my friends, to judge betwixt her Royal Highness and myself; that I would not lie under an imputation of having done wrong; and I took my leave of her Royal Highness *for ever*, only first regretting I had ever known her, and thankful to be emancipated from Montague House, and that she owed it to me to have, at least, dismissed me in a civil manner, by her *own hands*." This letter her Royal Highness returned unopened; but, from its appearance, I had strong reason to believe she had read it. I was resolved, however, if she had not, she should be taught better, as she might not treat any other person so ill as she had me, and my mind was bent upon speaking to Mrs. Vernon; I was nearly certain, if I wrote to Mrs. Vernon, the Princess would make her send my letter back, and therefore I wrote Mrs. Fitzgerald nearly a copy of what I sent her Royal Highness, and called upon *her*, as she had been always present, to say, if she ever saw any thing in my behaviour to justify any rudeness towards me; that I was precisely what the Princess found me, when the Princess walked up *to her knees in snow to seek my acquaintance*, and precisely *the same individual* whom she had thought worthy of the strongest proofs of her friendship, and whose lying-in she had attended in so particular a manner, and had thought worthy of shedding tears over; that her Royal Highness had thought proper to confide in me a secret of very *serious importance* to herself; and I would not, after acting in the most honourable manner to *her*, be dismissed by a lady in waiting; and I meant to be at Montague House, and have a satisfactory conversation with Mrs. Vernon; and therefore she would be so good as acquaint her Royal Highness with the contents of my letter, or lay it before her Royal Highness. Mrs. Fitzgerald sent back a confused note, saying, she could not show the Princess my letter, unless she was called upon; and when she opened it her disappointment was great, for she expected to have found respectful inquiries after her Royal Highness's finger (which was hurt when she went to see Mr. Canning), and that I might make my mind easy, as ladies in waiting never repeated any thing; and she was astonished I had thrown out such a hint. A day or two after a note was sent to Sir John, as if nothing had happened, requesting him to go to Montague House. The servant who brought it drove Mrs. Vernon from Blackheath house to her own house in town, and I have no doubt it will be found (if inquiry

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be made) that Mrs. Vernon was put prematurely out of her waiting, lest I should explain with her. Sir John obeyed her Royal Highness's summons, and she received him in the most gracious pleasant manner, taking as much pains to please and flatter him *now* as she had formerly done by me, and began a conversation with him relating to a General Innes, of the Marines, whom the Admiralty thought proper, with many others, to put upon the retired list; she exprest an ardent desire to get that officer reinstated, and consulted Sir John, as belonging to the same corps, how she could accomplish such an undertaking. Sir John listened to her attentively, and made her short and very polite answers, acquainting her no such thing was ever done. She then said she must speak to Lord Melville about it, as it was a hard case. The luncheon was then announced, and she ordered Sir John to attend herself and the ladies. Sir John found Mrs. Vernon was sent off, and a lady was there whom he did not know, but thought was Lady Carnarvon. When they were all seated Sir John remained on his legs, and she looked anxiously at him, and said, "my dear Sir John, sit down and eat." He bowed, with distant respect, and said, he could not eat; that he was desirous of returning to town; and if her Royal Highness had no further business with him, he would beg leave to go. The Princess looked quite disconcerted, and said, What not eat any thing, not sit down; pray take a glass of wine then. He bowed again as before, and repeated that he could neither eat nor drink. Well then, she said, "Come again soon, my dear Sir John; always glad to see you." Sir John made no reply, bowed and left the room. I now received by the twopenny post, a long anonymous letter, written, by this restless mischievous person, the Princess of Wales, in which, in language which any one who had ever heard her speak, would have known to be hers, she called me all kind of names, impudent, *silly*, *wretched*, *ungrateful*, and illiteral (meaning illiterate), she tells me to take *that*, and it will mend my *ill temper*, &c. &c. &c. and says, she is a person high in this government, and has often an opportunity of* freely with his Majesty, and she thinks my conduct authorizes her to tell him off, and that *she* is my only true and *integer friend*. Such is the spirit of this foreigner, which would have disgraced

* So in the authenticated copy; some words seem omitted.

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a house-maid to have written, and it encloses a fabricated anonymous letter, which she pretends to have received, and upon which she built her doubts and disapprobation of me, as it advises her not to trust me, for I am indiscreet, and tell every body that the child she took from Deptford, was her own. The whole construction of both these epistles, from beginning to end, are evidently that of a foreigner, and a very ignorant one, and the vulgarity of it is altogether quite shocking. In one part she exclaims that she did not think that I should have had the *impudence* to come *on her door* again, and tells me, 'tis for my being *indiscreet and not having allowed her to call me a liar*, that she treats me *thus*, and that I would do well to remember the story *of Henry the Eighth's Queen and Lady Douglas*. I was instantly satisfied it was from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and that Mrs. Fitzgerald had shown her my letter, and this was her answer to it. I immediately carried it to Sir John Douglas, who said he was sure it came from the Princess, and he shewed it to Sir Sidney Smith, who said, every word and expression in it were those which the Princess of Wales constantly used. Sir John desired me now to give him a full explanation of what her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales had confided to me, and whether I had ever mentioned it. I gave him my solemn word of honour it had never passed my lips, and I was only now going to utter it at his positive desire. That her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales told me she was with child, and that it came to life at Lady Willoughby's, that if she was discovered she would give the Prince of Wales the credit, for she slept at Carlton House twice the year she was pregnant; that she often spoke of her situation, compared herself and me to Mary and Elizabeth, and told me when she shewed me the child, that it was the little boy she had two days after I last saw her, that was the 30th of October; therefore her son was born on the 1st of November, and I take a retrospect view of things after I knew the day of his birth, and found her Royal Highness must have gone down stairs and dined with all the Chancellors about the fourth day after she was delivered, with the intention, if discovered, of having them all to say they dined with her in perfect health so early in November, that it could not be. Sir John recollected all her whims, and went over her whole conduct, and he firmly believes her to be *the mother of the reputed Deptford child*. I then acquainted

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him of the pains she had taken to estrange my mind and affections from him, and he saw her pursuit of now changing sides, and endeavouring to estrange him from me, lest, if we lived in a happy state of confidence, I might make known her situation to him; and we agreed that as we had no means of communicating at present with his Majesty, or the Heir Apparent, we must wait patiently until called upon to bring forward her conduct, as there seemed little doubt we should one day be. Finding that Sir John Douglas did not choose to visit where his wife was discarded and hurt in the estimation of her acquaintance, her fury became so unbounded, that she sought what she could do most atrocious, wicked, and inhuman, she reached her * it would seem, that the result was, she made two drawings with a pen and ink, and sent them to us by the twopenny post, representing me as having disgraced myself with his old friend Sir Sidney Smith. They are of the most indecent nature, drawn with her own hand, and words upon them in her own handwriting. Sir John, Sir Sidney, and myself, can all swear point blank without a moment's hesitation; and if her Royal Highness is a subject and amenable to the laws of this country (and I conceive her to be so) she ought to be tried and judged by those laws for doing thus, to throw firebrands into the bosom of a quiet family. My husband with that cool good sense which has ever marked his character, and with a belief in my innocence which nothing but facts can stagger, (for it is founded upon my having been faithful to him nine years before we were married, and seven years since,) as well as his long acquaintance with Sir Sidney Smith's character and disposition, and having seen the Princess of Wales's loose and vicious character, put the letters in his pocket, and went instantly to Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Sidney was as much astonished as we had been. Sir John then told him, he put the question to him, and expected an answer such as an officer and a gentleman ought to give to his friend: Sir Sidney Smith gave Sir John his hand, as his old friend and companion, and assured him in the most solemn manner as an officer and a gentleman, that the whole was the most audacious and wicked calumny; and he would swear to its being the handwriting of the Princess of Wales; and that he believed Lady Douglas to be the same virtuous domestic woman

* A blank in the authenticated copy.

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he thought her when Sir John first made him known to her. Sir Sidney added, "I never said a word to your wife, but what you might have heard; and had I been so base as to attempt any thing of the kind under your roof, I should deserve for you to shoot me like a mad dog. I am ready to go with Lady Douglas and yourself, and let us ask her what she means by it; and confront her." Accordingly Sir John wrote a note to the lady in waiting, which was to this effect: "Sir John and Lady Douglas, and Sir Sidney Smith, present their compliments to the lady in waiting, and request she will have the goodness to say to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that they are desirous of having an audience of her Royal Highness immediately." We received no answer to this note: but, in a few days, an answer was sent to Sir Sidney Smith, stating, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was much indisposed, and could not see any one at present. This was directed to Sir Sidney Smith at our house, although he did not live there. This was an acknowledgment of her guilt: she could not face us; it was satisfactory to us all, for it said—I am the author, let me off; but to make one's satisfaction upon this the more perfect, and to warn her of the danger she runs of discovery, when she did such flagrant things, I wrote the under-written note, and put it into the post-office, directed to herself:

"Madam,

"I received your former anonymous letter safe; also your two last, with drawings.

"I am, Madam,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS."

It appears evident that her Royal Highness received this safe, and felt how she had committed herself; for, instead of returning it in the old style, she sent for his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and requested him to send for Sir Sidney, and by the post Sir Sidney received an anonymous letter, saying, the writer of that wished for no *civil dissensions*, and that there seldom was a difference where, if the parties wished it, they could not arrange matters. Sir Sidney brought this curious letter to shew Sir John, and we were all satisfied it was from her Royal Highness,

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who, thinking Sir Sidney and Sir John might, by this time, be cutting each other's throats, sent very graciously to stop them: in short, she called them *civil dissensions*. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, being employed to negotiate, sent for Sir Sidney Smith, and acquainted him, that he was desired by her Royal Highness to say, that she would see Sir Sidney Smith in the course of a few days, provided, when he came to her, he avoided all disagreeable discussions whatever. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent then sought from Sir Sidney an explanation of the matter. Sir Sidney Smith then gave the Duke of Kent a full detail of circumstances, and ended by saying, "We all could, and would, swear the drawings and words contained in those covers were written by the Princess of Wales; for, as if she were fully to convict herself, she had sealed one of the covers with the identical seal she had used upon the cover, when she summoned Sir John to luncheon at Montague House." His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, finding what a scrape she had entangled herself in, exclaimed "Abominable! foolish to be sure: but, Sir Sidney Smith, as this matter, if it makes a noise, may distress his Majesty and be injurious to his health, I wish Sir John and Lady Douglas would (at least for the present) try to forget it: and if my making them a visit would be agreeable, and soothe their minds, I will go with all my heart, though I am not yet acquainted with them, and I will speak fully to the Princess of Wales, and point out to her the danger of doing such things; but, at all events, it would be very injurious to his Majesty's health, if it came to his ears just now." Sir Sidney Smith came from his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent to us, and delivered his Royal Highness's message. Sir John declined all negotiation: but told Sir Sidney Smith, that he was empowered to say to the Duke of Kent from him, that of whatsoever extent he might.* his injuries, and however anxious he might be to seek justice, yet when he received such an intimation from one of the Royal Family, he would certainly pause before he took any of those measures he meant to take; and if that was the case, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was desirous of his being quiet, lest his Majesty's health or peace might be disturbed by it, his duty, and his attachment to his sovereign were so sin-

* So in the authenticated copy.

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core, that he would bury (for the present) his private calamity, for the sake of his Majesty's repose and the public good; but he begged to be clearly understood, that he did not mean to bind himself hereafter, but reserve to himself a full right of exposing the Princess of Wales, when he judged it might be done with greater effect, and when it was not likely to disturb the repose of this country.

Sir Sidney Smith told us that he had delivered Sir John's message *verbatim*, to the Duke of Kent; and, a short time afterwards, his Royal Highness commanded Sir John and Sir Sidney to dine with him at Kensington Palace; but the Duke of Kent did not speak to Sir John upon the subject, and the matter rested there, and would have slept for some time, had not the Princess of Wales recommenced a fresh torrent of outrage against Sir John; and had he not discovered, that she was attempting to undermine his and Lady Douglas's character. Sir John, therefore, was compelled to communicate his situation to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in order that he might acquaint the Royal Family of the manner the Princess of Wales was proceeding in, and to claim his Majesty's and the Heir Apparent's protection. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, with that goodness and consideration Sir John expected from him, has informed his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who sent Sir John word, that "He desired to have a full detail of all that passed during their acquaintance with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and how they became known to her, it appearing to the Heir Apparent, from the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, that his Majesty's dearest interests, and those of this country, were very deeply involved in the question; his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has commanded them to be very circumstantial in their detail respecting all they may know relative to the child the Prince of Wales affected to adopt. Sir John and Lady Douglas repeat, that being so called upon, they feel it their duty to detail what they know, for the information of his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, and they have done so, as upon oath, after having very seriously considered the matter, and are ready to authenticate whatever they have said, if it should be required, for his Majesty's further information. I have drawn up this detail in the best manner I could; and fear, from my never having before attempted a thing of the kind, it will be full of

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errors, and being much fatigued from writing of it, from the original, in eight and forty hours, of the facts contained therein, I believe they are correct; I am ready to assert, in the most solemn manner, that I know them all to be true.

(Signed) CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS.
JOHN DOUGLAS.

In the presence of
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.
Greenwich Park, Dec. 3, 1805.

Copies of all the Papers alluded to in this Detail are in the hands of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

(Signed) JOHN DOUGLAS.

In the presence of
AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.
A true Copy, *B. Bloomfield.*
A true Copy, *J. Becket.*
Whitehall, 29th August, 1806.

The length of this extraordinary "Statement" leaves me but little room for comment; and if it were otherwise, all comments or animadversions thereon would perhaps be somewhat premature till we have taken some notice of the examinations that took place for the purpose of confirming this very circumstantial narrative of Lady Douglas's. The reader, however, ought previously to be informed, that these slanderous accusations against the Princess of Wales having reached her royal husband's ears, he forthwith directed that a full and a formal disclosure of the whole should be made, and committed to writing, with a view of laying the same before the King. Having formed this determination several persons, two of whom were servants of Sir John Douglas, and others the

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servants of her Royal Highness, were privately examined by Mr. Lowten of the Temple. These several declarations, the substance of which shall shortly be laid before the reader, were subsequently submitted to his Majesty, who, on the 29th of May, 1806, issued his warrant, directing Lord Erskine, then lord high chancellor; Earl Spencer, one of the principal secretaries of state; Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; and Lord Ellenborough, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, to examine upon oath such persons as they might think fit touching these serious and heavy charges, and to report to his Majesty the result of such examinations. The several depositions, conversations, and examinations that were made, together with the very able and animated remonstrances and replies of her Royal Highness, and other exculpatory documents, form, altogether, including the report of the commissioners, and the notes and letters between the King and the injured Princess on this subject, what was technically called THE DELICATE INVESTIGATION; but which might, as our readers will perhaps already have discovered, with far greater propriety, have been denominated the *Indelicate* Investigation. Such, however, as it is, it is the historian's duty to lay it before the reader. We will now proceed with the examinations, above alluded to, supposed to confirm the lengthy Statement just given.

The names of the persons examined were Sarah Lampert, and William Lampert, her husband: these

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were Sir John Douglas's servants; but as no copy of their examinations were transmitted with the other papers, nor any observations made on them in the Report of the Commissioners, it is not necessary to take any farther notice of them. William Cole, Robert Bidgood, Sarah Bidgood, and Frances Lloyd, were the other persons examined; and the following is the substance of what they declared: their depositions before the Commissioners shall be noticed in the proper place:

WILLIAM COLE, in four several examinations, respectively dated, January 11th, 14th, 30th, and Febuary 23d, 1806, said, that he had been servant to the Prince of Wales twenty-one years; and went with the Princess on her marriage, and remained till April 1802. The year before, he had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Princess; for *he had seen* MR. CANNING several times *alone* with her, for an hour or two together; and that the company took notice of it. This was in a room adjoining the drawing-room. In 1802 he said that Sir Sidney Smith frequently came to dine and sup with the Princess, and their intimacy became familiar: Sir Sidney, also, used to remain alone with the Princess for an hour or two after the ladies had left the room; and one night in particular he saw a person wrapped up in a great coat go across the Park, meaning Greenwich Park, into the gate to the green-house; and he *verily believed* it was Sir Sidney. On another occasion, on taking some sandwiches into the

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drawing-room, he found "the lady and gentleman," for so he denominates her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, and the gallant Sir Sidney Smith, sitting so close together on the sofa, and in such a familiar posture, that he was very much alarmed, and made a start back, at the same time giving a very significant look at "the gentleman." Mr. Cole, it appears, was, about a fortnight afterwards, dismissed from Montague House, and attributes his dismissal to this "look" of his at "the gentleman." He further confirms the intimacy that subsisted between her Royal Highness and Lady Douglas; and then goes on to state, that some time after he had left Montague House, he made a visit there, and spoke to Fanny Lloyd, asking her "how things went on amongst them," who replied, that there were "strange goings on;" that Sir Sidney was frequently there; and that one day, when Mary Wilson supposed the Princess to be gone into the library, she went into the bedroom, where she found a man at breakfast with the Princess; that there was "a great to do" about it; and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen. Cole, also, again saw Fanny Lloyd after the return of the Princess from Southend, where she had been during the bathing season, and asked her again, how "they had gone on," to which she replied that there were "delightful doings—always on ship-board, or the Captain," meaning Captain Manby, "at their house." Cole

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farther said, that Fanny Lloyd also told him, that one evening when all were supposed to be in bed, Mrs. Lisle met Captain Manby in the passage; but made no alarm; for he was constantly in the house; he also said, that Mrs. Sander knew every thing, and appeared to be in great distress on many occasions, and had said to him, that the Princess was an altered woman. He concluded his first examination by stating, that Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Lawrence, the painter, was frequently at Montague House painting the Princess's picture, and that he was often alone, late at night, with her Royal Highness, and much suspicion was entertained of him.

In his next examination he stated that, he had been informed by Fanny Lloyd, who, it would seem, was a great favourite of his, that Mr. Hood, during the residence of the Princess of Wales, at Catherington, near Portsmouth, in the summer of 1805, used frequently to ride out in a gig with the Princess, with a boy to attend them; and moreover that "they used to get out of the gig and walk into the wood, leaving the boy to attend the horse and gig till their return; and this happened frequently." Cole, at this examination, said that in the year 1802, he had heard a story of the Princess's being with child; but he could not say that he had formed an opinion that she was so; though she grew lusty, and appeared large behind; and, at the latter end of the year, he made an observation, that the Princess was grown thinner. He

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however, could form no opinion about the child; but had seen an old man and woman, (about 50 years of age) at Montague House on a Sunday, and had inquired who they were, when he was answered by the servants in the hall, "that is little Billy's mother," meaning the child the Princess had taken, and which was found by Stikeman. Of this child the reader has already received some account in the foregoing sheets.

In his third examination, Cole states that, on the 17th of January, whilst walking, in company with Mr. Stikeman, from Blackheath to London, he asked whether the "old man and woman" still came to see the child as usual; when Stikeman exclaimed "old man and woman! they are not old: we have not seen them much lately; they live at Deptford."

The fourth and last examination refers principally to the former story about "a lady and gentleman sitting close together on a sofa;" but adds that there was nothing particular in their dress, position of legs or arms, that was extraordinary. He repeats, also, his statement about Lawrence the painter, mentioning two distinct nights in which he and the Princess, so late as twelve and one o'clock, had sat up together after the rest of the family were gone to bed. His examination terminates as follows: "as to the observation made about Sir Sidney having a key of every door about the gardens, it was a gardener who was complaining of the door of the green

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house being left open, and the plants damaged, and who made the same to Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, and which he mentioned at Cheltenham to Sir John and Mr. Lowten. Lampert said he should know the gardener again." Thus ends the confirmatory statement of William Cole.

ROBERT BIDGOOD, whose examination is dated "Temple, 4th of April, 1806," said, he had lived with the Prince nearly twenty-three years, and with the Princess since March 21, 1798. His testimony was deemed of great importance; I shall, therefore, go into it somewhat at length. They were, he said, at Blackheath, during the whole of the year 1802, in which year Lady Douglas went to reside at the Tower in Montague House, where she stayed about three weeks; and during which Sir Sidney Smith used frequently to go to the house, and remain till three or four o'clock in the morning. He had seen Sir Sidney in the blue room, as early as ten o'clock in the morning; but could not tell whether he had ever remained alone till three or four o'clock in the morning, as there were other ladies besides the Princess in the house.

During the year 1802 the Princess used frequently to ride out in her phaeton, attended by Mrs. Fitzgerald, and took out cold meat, and went towards Dartford, where she spent the day, and returned about six or seven in the evening. On these occasions, Williams, the coachman, always

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attended the Princess. She used, also, frequently to go to Lady Douglas's house, where Sir Sidney then resided; but at the end of the year a misunderstanding took place between these two ladies; and he one day saw Lady Douglas in tears, and observed that she was not afterwards visited by the Princess. Bidgood farther stated, that his wife had lately told him, that Fanny Lloyd told her, that Mary Wilson had stated to Lloyd, that one day when she went into the Princess's room, she found the Princess and Sir Sidney *in the fact*; and that she (Wilson) immediately left the room, and fainted at the door.

In the winter of 1802, and the spring of 1803, Bidgood stated, that Captain Manby became a visiter at Montague House; his frigate being then lying out at Deptford. On one occasion when Captain Manby was about to sail, Bidgood was walking into the anti-room, to let the Captain out; and, as he stayed some time, Bidgood stated that he looked into the room, and from a mirror on the opposite side of the room to where Captain Manby and the Princess stood, he saw the Captain kiss the Princess's lips; and soon afterwards he went away. He saw the Princess, with her handkerchief to her face, going into the drawing-room, apparently in tears.

In the year 1804, Bidgood was with the Princess at Southend, in Essex. Sicard was constantly on the look-out for the Africane, Captain Manby's ship, which at length he descried; and as soon as

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the Captain landed, he visited the Princess, and afterwards was frequently at the house which her Royal Highness occupied. Bidgood farther stated, that from the circumstance of towels, water, and glasses, being placed in the passage he had reason to believe that Manby slept there all night.

In 1805, the Princess visited Hampshire; but Bidgood was not then along with her. After her return to Blackheath, Captain, now Lord, Hood used to visit the Princess, and that without his wife. On these occasions they were frequently together in the blue room, without any attendant or lady.

Bidgood proceeds in his examination to state, that he had strong suspicions that Mrs. Sander used to deliver letters to Sicard, which he conceived to be from the Princess to Captain Manby. He said, also, that Mrs. Sander, Mary Wilson, and Miss Mielfield must know all the circumstances. This witness concludes this examination by stating that the mother ("as she was called") of the little boy used frequently to go to Montague House, that her husband had worked at Deptford, but was then discharged and was employed in Stikeman's house in town.

Sarah Bidgood, the wife of Robert, confirmed the story about Fanny Lloyd's having told her of Sarah Wilson's fainting on seeing Sir Sidney Smith and the Princess "in such an indecent situation;" but it does not appear that any copy of her examination was transmitted with the other

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papers to the commissioners; it is, however, alluded to in the Princess's defence, and was, therefore, proper to be noticed in this place.

Before we proceed with the examination of Frances Lloyd, I think it needful to state what became of Bidgood and his wife after the part they took in this disgraceful business. After much inquiry at Greenwich and the neighbourhood, I found that Bidgood subsequently took a public house; but the part he had taken against his royal mistress so exasperated his neighbours, and almost every body that knew him and had daily opportunities of watching the conduct of the Princess, that he died in great distress and poverty, both of body and mind, regretted by not a single individual; and, some months ago, Sarah, his widow, fell into a very deep well, and fractured both her legs and thighs in such a shocking manner, that it became necessary to have them both amputated, at no great distance from the body. She is still living, on the bounty, as I understand, of a former mistress; but by no means respected amongst her neighbours: so strong is the conviction of the Queen's innocence, and of the wickedness of the conspiracy against her life and honour.

Lady Douglas retired some years ago to Scotland, her husband having died, as some supposed, of a broken heart. Her ladyship, however, still lives, though in a very private and secluded manner.

We may now proceed to notice FRANCES LLOYD'S examination, dated "Temple, 12th

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of May, 1806." She began by stating, that, to the best of her knowledge, Mary Wilson had said that she had seen the Princess and Sir Sidney in the blue room; but added that she was so close a woman, that she never opened her mouth on any occasion. Lloyd, however, declared, that she had never heard Mary Wilson say she was so alarmed as to be in a fit. She had heard the gardener at Ramsgate say one day, at dinner, that he had seen Mrs. Sicard and Captain Manby go across the lawn towards a subterraneous passage leading to the sea. She had also seen Captain Manby sitting in the drawing-room of the house adjoining to her Royal Highness, which room belonged to her; and one morning, about six o'clock, she had observed the Captain and her mistress walking together in the garden at Ramsgate. She had moreover heard, from Mrs. Lisle's maid, that the Princess, when at Lady Sheffield's, went out of her bed-room, and could not find her way back; but nothing more. Lastly, Lloyd stated, that, about four years before, as she thought, Mr. Mills had attended her for a cold; and, in conversation, he asked her if the Prince visited at their house; to which she replied, not to her knowledge; on which Mr. Mills is stated to have said, that certainly the Princess was with child.

Mr. Mills, then a respectable surgeon at Greenwich, is now dead.

Such is the substance of the examinations, on which was founded the official inquiry already

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alluded to, before commissioners appointed to that purpose by his late Majesty. It is not necessary that I should offer any remarks on these extraordinary charges: they are sufficiently animadverted upon by the Princess herself in her long and very able defence addressed to the King; and drawn up, as is supposed, by the present Lord Eldon, and the late unfortunate Mr. Perceval. In its proper place that very excellent and highly interesting document shall be laid before the reader, who will then form his own judgment on the evidence against her Royal Highness, and on the peculiar merits of her defence. In the mean time I shall proceed to give a faithful analysis of the other evidence laid before the Commissioners, with their lordships' Report to his Majesty on the same.

It will, perhaps, be best, in the first place, to give the substance of the *Depositions* on oath, on which was founded the report alluded to. In doing this some little repetition will be unavoidable.

Lady Douglas, whose deposition is dated June 1, 1806, begins by noticing the date of her first acquaintance with her Royal Highness; and then goes on to state all the leading facts of her former account; but in a much more concise manner. We may, therefore, pass over this deposition.

Sir John Douglas's deposition, of the same date, contains nothing of importance except the following statement: that one day the Princess

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leaned on the sofa, and put her hand upon her stomach, and said; "Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England;" to which Sir John replied: "not if you don't deserve it." She seemed angry at first. She appeared to Sir John to be with child.

ROBERT BIDGOOD, next went over, in his deposition, much the same ground as that he had trod in his examination already given. He was sworn at Lord Grenville's house on the 6th of June 1806, in the presence of his lordship and Earl Spencer. WILLIAM COLE, at the same time, also, confirmed a considerable portion, but not all, of his former statement, as far at least as the formality of an oath may be said to give confirmation to it. FRANCES LLOYD, likewise, on the following day, went through the same ceremony and repetition of her former testimony to Mr. Lowten; but in her deposition added, that a woman of the name of Townly, from Charlton, had told her that she had some linen to wash from the Princess's house. That the linen was marked with the appearance of a miscarriage or a delivery. It is worthy also of particular remark, that this deponent, Lloyd, here swears positively that "she never told Cole that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the library, had gone into the Princess's bedroom, and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess; or that there was a great to do about it, and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she

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divulged what she had seen." Now, Cole, it will have been observed, in his examination, did most distinctly state, that Fanny had so told him. It is true, Cole does not repeat this remarkable fact in his deposition.

Next follows the deposition of MARY WILSON, sworn on the same day as the preceding deponent. She swears, that she had lived housemaid with the Princess nearly ten years; remembered the child being brought to the Princess; but never suspected her to have been with child. She was with the Princess at Southend, when Captain Manby used to visit at their house. It was her business, assisted by Ann Bye, another of the Princess's maids, to make her Royal Highness's bed; but, from what she saw, she had never any reason to believe that two persons had slept in it. She never saw any particular appearance in it. The linen was washed by Stikeman's wife.

SAMUEL ROBERTS, the Princess's footman, swore to the bringing of the child; and also that he never saw any particular appearance in her Royal Highness in that year; nor did any thing lead him to believe that she was with child. He never saw Sir Sidney Smith alone with the Princess, nor did he, to his knowledge, stay later than the ladies. He remembered Cole asking him whether there were any favourites in the family; to which he replied that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith dined at Blackheath oftener than other persons.

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THOMAS STIKEMAN'S deposition, so far as it refers to the child Austin, and that forms a principal part of it, has already been given in substance on a former page. As to Sir Sidney Smith, this deponent swore, that he used frequently to visit at Montague House, and he had known him remain till past twelve o'clock, and, he believed, alone with the Princess; "but," added Stikeman, "the Princess is of that lively vivacity, that she makes herself familiar with gentlemen, which prevented me from being struck with his staying so late." He adds, also, that he had "seen the Princess, when they were alone, sitting with Sir Sidney Smith on the same sofa in the blue room." This deponent was with the family at Ramsgate, when Captain Manby used frequently to visit them, and remain as late as eleven o'clock at night. He did not remember Fanny Lloyd being called up any morning to make breakfast for the Princess. He had never any suspicions of there being any thing improper, either from the frequent visits of Captain Manby, or from his conduct, though he did not like his coming so often and staying so late, and was uneasy at it. He was at Catherington with the Princess, and has known her once or twice go out with Mr. Hood in his one-horse chaise; when they remained out two hours, or two hours and a half together. He did not remember Lawrence the painter ever sleeping at Montague House.

JOHN SICARD, house-steward to the Princess seven years, deposed to the bringing of the child,

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and to the visits of Sir Sidney Smith, and Sir John and Lady Douglas. Sir Sidney was very often alone with the Princess, and so was Mr. Canning, and other gentlemen; but he never suspected Sir Sidney Smith of any improper conduct, with the Princess; nor, indeed, of her acting improperly with any other gentleman. Mr. Sicard is still attached to the household of her Majesty. During her residence abroad, he has remained, for the most part, in England, as her agent.

The deposition of CHARLOTTE SANDER next follows. Her oath principally relates to the child Austin; and that part of it the reader is already acquainted with. She adds that she had not any reason to suppose the Princess was pregnant at the time stated by Lady Douglas; neither had she cause to suspect that she acted with impropriety towards any gentleman. She neither knew nor believed, that Captain Manby used to stay till very late hours with the Princess, nor did she suspect the least improper familiarity between them. She never saw any thing in the conduct of the Princess whilst she lived with her, and she came with her Highness from Brunswick, which would have made her uneasy had she been her husband. This witness's evidence was very material and circumspect; and, most certainly, exonerates her Royal Highness from every species of impropriety.

The deposition of SOPHIA AUSTIN follows. It has already been given in substance.

We have next to notice a letter from Earl Spencer, addressed to the late Lord Gwydir, re-

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questing his lordship to make inquiries respecting the fact sworn to by Lady Douglas of her Royal Highness breakfasting at Lady Willoughby's house in May or June, 1802, enclosing also an extract from Lady Douglas's deposition. The result of their investigation was, that Lady Willoughby had no recollection whatever of the fact stated to have taken place, during a breakfast at Whitehall, nor elsewhere. Subsequently several distinct questions were put to Lady Willoughby, to all of which she returned written answers, offering at the same time to appear personally before the Commissioners, if required. In all this her ladyship most completely invalidates the oath of Lady Douglas, about the story she told of quickening of the child, and her milk suddenly rushing from her breast and staining her handkerchief; and retiring under pretence of having spilt something; and, in short, the whole story, as related by Lady Douglas, who, it should in justice be stated, only swore that the Princess had herself told her ladyship this ridiculous story. Lady Willoughby concludes her answers by stating, that during the ten years she had had the honour of knowing the Princess of Wales, she did not bear in mind a single instance of her Royal Highness's conduct in society towards any individual tending to establish the fact of a criminal intercourse or improper familiarity.

We now return to the depositions: ELIZABETH GOSDEN simply states the fact, already communicated, of being sent for to take care of the child.

BETTY TOWNLY, a laundress at Charlton, had

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been used to wash her Royal Highness's linen, on which occasions she observed such appearances on the linen as might arise from natural causes to which women are subject. She had never washed the Princess's own bed-linen, except once or twice occasionally. She recollected one bundle of linen once coming home which she thought rather more marked than usual. The servants, however, had told her that the Princess had been bled with leeches, and it dirtied the linen more. She also recollected, on another occasion, that, on looking over the linen "slowly," she thought there might be something more than usual. It had the appearance of a miscarriage, and she believed that to have been the case at the time. This she *might* mention to Fanny Lloyd, but she could not tell when it was that she had made this observation on the linen; it must, however, have been more than two years and a half before the time in which she made her deposition. This deponent was sworn on the 23rd of June, 1806.

THOMAS EDMEADES, a surgeon and apothecary at Greenwich, swore that, from the year 1801, he attended her Royal Highness and her household. He had attended Fanny Lloyd for colds; but he did not recollect that he had ever said any thing to her respecting the Princess of Wales. It never once entered his thoughts, while he attended the Princess, that she was pregnant, nor did he ever say so to Fanny Lloyd. He had bled the Princess in the June quarter of 1802; but he had no re-

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collection of her Royal Highness being ill in October of that year. The Princess used to send for leeches to his shop.

Mr. Edmeades, whose testimony on this occasion was so important, is since dead; as is also his late partner, Mr. Mills, whose deposition next follows. The chief part of this deponent's evidence is that wherein he swears he remembers that there was a female servant who attended in the coffee-room, (alluding to Fanny Lloyd) but he never said to that woman, nor to any other person, that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child; neither did he ever think so, or surmise any thing of the kind.

Harriet Fitzgerald, who had lived with the Princess of Wales, since the year 1801, merely as a friend and companion, swore to her knowledge of Lady Douglas, and to the fact of her lying-in, when it happened, by accident, that her Royal Highness was in the house at the time of Lady Douglas's delivery, in 1802. She was there herself. The Princess was not in the room at the time Lady Douglas was delivered. There was certainly no appearance of the Princess being pregnant at that time. She saw the Princess at that time every day, and at all hours. She believed it to have been quite impossible that the Princess should have been with child without her knowing it. She was at Southend with the Princess, and remembered Captain Manby being there sometimes; but not very often. He dined there, but never stayed late;

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never later than nine or half past nine. She never recollected having seen him there early in the morning. She was also with the Princess at Ramsgate, Captain Manby might have dined there once. He never slept there to her knowledge; nor did she believe he ever had. This deponent was also at Catherington with the Princess; and remembered her Royal Highness going out in a carriage with the present Lord Hood. She believed Lord Hood's servant attended them. Whilst at Montague House, Sir Sidney Smith used frequently to be there, sometimes as late as twelve and one o'clock in the morning, but never alone that she knew of. She then repeats, that the Princess was not in the room when Lady Douglas was brought to bed. Deponent knew she was not, because she was in the room herself when Lady Douglas was delivered. Dr. Mackie of Lewisham was the accoucheur.

Robert Bidgood, on the 3d of July, repeated his former deposition, in somewhat stronger language, and rather more circumstantial than heretofore. The kiss, which he said he had seen from the reflection of the looking-glass, given by Captain Manby to the Princess, he now described as "a very close kiss"—like people fond of each other—Her behaviour like that of a woman attached to a man. He never saw the water-jugs, basons, and towels, set out opposite the Princess's door, but when he suspected Captain Manby was there. The Princess used to go out in her phaeton with coachman and helper, towards Long Reach, eight

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or ten times, carrying luncheon and wine with her, when Captain Manby's ship was at Long Reach. Mrs. Fitzgerald always with her. The day the Africaine sailed from Southend the Princess ordered them to pack up for Blackheath next morning. The servants used to talk and laugh about Captain Manby; it was matter of discourse amongst them. Her manner with Sir Sidney Smith appeared very familiar. She appeared very attentive to him; but deponent did not suspect any thing farther.

Sir Francis Millman, attended the Princess medically, in the year 1802, for a sore throat and fever. The year afterwards, he attended her with Sir Walter Farquhar; when he persuaded her with some difficulty, to be blooded for a pain in her chest. She said she had not been blooded before, and that they could not find a vein in her arm. He saw no mark in her arm of her having been blooded before. He never observed any thing which induced him to think her Royal Highness was in a pregnant situation. He thought it impossible she should have been delivered of a child in that year without his observing it. She was, during that year, and at all times, in the habit of receiving the visits of the Duke of Gloucester. If she had been a pregnant woman in June 1802, he could not have helped observing it.

Next follows the important deposition of Mrs. Hester Lisle, who had been in the Princess's family ever since her Royal Highness's marriage. Had no reason to know or believe that she was

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pregnant in the year 1802. She was at East Cliff, Ramsgate, with her Royal Highness, in August 1803; and saw Captain Manby only once there in that month, to the best of her recollection; and once again at Deal castle. The Captain landed there, with some boys the Princess had taken on charity. She had seen Captain Manby at Blackheath one Christmas. He always went away in deponents' presence; she had no reason to think he stayed after the ladies retired. He often came there; three or four times a week or more. Deponent supposed that he might be there with the Princess alone; but her Royal Highness was in the habit of seeing gentlemen and tradesmen without deponent being present. She thought also, that Sir Sidney Smith came frequently the Christmas before. At Dinner, when Captain Manby dined, he always sat next her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The constant company were Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald and Mrs. Lisle, the deponent. They all retired with the Princess and sat in the same room. He generally retired about eleven o'clock, sitting with the ladies till then. He was a person with whom the Princess appeared to have greater pleasure in talking, than to her ladies. She behaved to him only as any woman would who likes flirting. The deponent should not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly who should have behaved as her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby. She could not say whether the Princess was attached to Captain

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Manby, only that it was a flirting conduct. Never saw any gallantries, as kissing the hand, or the like. This deponent was with her Royal Highness at Lady Sheffield's in Sussex, the Christmas before. There was only Mr. John Chester there when deponent arrived, afterwards others came; but her Royal Highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company. She knew of her walking out with him alone twice: once a short time; it rained; the other not an hour; not long. Mr. Chester was "a pretty young man." Her attentions to him were not uncommon; not the same as to Captain Manby. This deponent was with the princess at Catherington; and remembered her Royal Highness riding out alone with Lord Hood in his little whiskey. She appeared to pay no attention to him, but that of common civility to an intimate acquaintance. She remembered the Princess sitting to Mr. Lawrence for her picture at Blackheath, and in London. Deponent left her at his house in town with him; but she thought Mrs. Fitzgerald was with her. She sat alone with him, deponent thought, at Blackheath. She was never in her Royal Highness's confidence, but the Princess was always kind and good-natured to her. The Princess at one time appeared to like Lady Douglas. She had seen her with Sir Sidney Smith, but that never alone. he had no reason to suspect Sir Sidney had a key of the Park-gate. She never heard of any body being found wandering about

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Blackheath. She had heard of somebody being found wandering about late at night at Mount Edgecumbe, when the Princess was there. Sir Richard Strachan was reported to have spoken freely of the Princess; but deponent did not hear that he had offered a rudeness to her person. The Princess told the deponent, that she had heard Sir Richard had spoken disrespectfully of her, and therefore, deponent believed that her Royal Highness had written to him by Sir Samuel Hood.

Earl Cholmondeley, deposed to the hand-writing of the Princess of Wales; and being shown an anonymous letter, mentioned by Lady Douglas in her statement, as having been "written by this restless mischievous person, the Princess of Wales," his lordship swore that *it was not of the Princess's hand-writing*. The paper, with a kind of drawing, with the names of Sir Sidney Smith and Lady Douglas, his lordship said, appeared to be written in a disguised hand, some of the letters remarkably resembling the Princess's hand-writing; but because of the disguise he could not say whether it was or was not her Royal Highness's writing. On the cover being shown to his lordship, he gave the same answer. The cover of another letter being shown to him, he said he did not see in it the same resemblance to the Princess's writing.

Thus terminated the important, and curious depositions made before the Lords Commissioners; but before I lay before the reader the report which their lordships made on this inquiry, to complete

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the series, it will be proper to notice the "narrative of the Duke of Kent," which, although dated December 17th 1805, the true copy was not attested till the 29th of August, 1806, and therefore, proper to be inserted in this place.

It is too important and interesting a document to be abridged; and as it is not very long, the reader shall have it entire.

NARRATIVE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF KENT.

"To introduce the following relation, it is necessary for me to premise, that on entering the Prince of Wales's bed-room, where our interview took place, my brother, after dismissing his attendants, said to me, that circumstances had come to his knowledge with respect to a transaction with the Princess of Wales, in which he found that I had been a party concerned; that if he had not placed the most entire reliance on my attachment to *him*, and he was pleased to add, on the well known uprightness of my character and principles, he should certainly have felt himself in no small degree offended at having learnt the facts alluded to from *others*, and *not* in the *first* instance from *me*, which he conceived himself every way entitled to expect, but more especially from that footing of confidence on which he had ever treated me through life; but that being fully satisfied my explanation of the matter would prove that he was not wrong in the opinion he had formed of the honourable motives that had actuated me in observing a silence with regard to *him* upon the subject, he then was anxiously waiting for me to proceed with a narrative, his wish to hear which he was sure he had only to express to insure my immediate acquiescence with it. The Prince then gave me his hand, assuring me he did not feel the smallest degree of displeasure towards me, and proceeded to introduce the subject upon which he required information. When, feeling it a duty I owed to him, to withhold from his knowledge no part of the circumstances connected with it, that I could bring back to my recollection, I related the facts to him, as nearly as I can remember, in the following words:—

"About a twelvemonth since, or thereabouts (for I cannot,

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speak positively to the exact date) I received a note from the Princess of Wales, by which she requested me to come over to Blackheath, in order to assist her in arranging a disagreeable matter, between her, Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John and Lady Douglas, the particulars of which she would relate to me, when I should call. I, in consequence, waited upon her, agreeably to her desire, a day or two after, when she commenced the conversation, by telling me, that she supposed I knew she had at one time lived with Lady Douglas on a footing of intimacy, but that she had had reason afterwards to repent having made her acquaintance, and was therefore rejoiced when she left Blackheath for Plymouth, as she conceived that circumstances would break off all farther communication between her and that lady. That, however, contrary to her expectation, upon the return of Sir John and her from Plymouth to London, Lady Douglas had called and left her name twice or three times, notwithstanding she must have seen that admission was refused her; that having been confirmed in the opinion she had before had occasion to form of her ladyship by an anonymous letter she had received, in which she was very strongly cautioned against renewing her acquaintance with her, both as being unworthy of her confidence, from the liberties she had allowed herself to take with the Princess's name, and the lightness of her character, she had felt herself obliged, as Lady Douglas would not take the hint, that her visits were not wished for, to order Miss Vernon to write her a note, specifically telling her that they would in future be dispensed with; that the consequence of this had been an application, through one of her ladies, in the joint names of Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John and Lady Douglas, for an audience, to require an explanation of this, which they considered an affront; and that, being determined not to grant it, or to suffer any unpleasant discussion upon the subject, she intreated me to take whatever steps I might judge best to put an end to the matter, and rid her of all further trouble about it. I stated in reply, that I had no knowledge of either Sir John or Lady Douglas, and therefore could not, in the first instance, address myself to them, but that I had some acquaintance with Sir Sidney Smith, and if the Princess was not averse to that channel, I would try what I could in that way effect. This being assented to by the Princess, I took my leave, and immediately, on my return home, wrote a note to Sir Sidney,

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requesting him to call on me as soon as he conveniently could, as I had some business to speak to him upon.—Sir Sidney, in consequence, called on me (I think) the next day, when I related to him the conversation, as above stated, that I had had with the Princess. After hearing all I had to say, he observed, that the Princess, in stating to me that her prohibition to Lady Douglas to repeat her visits at Blackheath, had led to the application for an audience of her Royal Highness, had kept from me the real cause why he, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, had made it, as it originated in a most scandalous anonymous letter, of a nature calculated to set on Sir John and him to cut each other's throats, which, from the hand-writing and style, they were both fully convinced, was the production of the Princess herself.—I naturally expressed my sentiments upon such conduct, on the part of the Princess, in terms of the strongest animadversion; but, nevertheless, anxious to avoid the shameful eclat which the publication of such a fact to the world must produce; the effect which its coming to the King's knowledge would probably have on his health, from the delicate state of his nerves, and all the additional misunderstandings between his Majesty and the Prince, which I foresaw would inevitably follow, were this fact, which would give the Prince so powerful a handle to express his feelings upon the countenance shewn by the King to the Princess, at a time when I knew him to be severely wounded, by his Majesty's visits to Blackheath on the one hand, and the reports he had received of the Princess's conduct on the other, to be brought to light; I felt it my bounden duty, as an honest man, to urge all these arguments with Sir Sidney Smith in the most forcible manner I was master of, adding also as a further object, worthy of the most serious consideration, the danger of any appearance of ill blood in the family at such an eventful crisis, and to press upon his mind the necessity of his using his best endeavours with Sir John Douglas, notwithstanding all the provocation that had been given them, to induce him to let the matter drop, and pursue it no further. Sir Sidney observed to me, that Sir John Douglas was a man whom, when once he had taken a line from a principle of honour, it was very difficult to persuade him to depart from it; however, as he thought that if any man could prevail upon him, he might flatter himself with being the most likely to persuade him, from the weight he had with him; he would imme-

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diately try how far he could gain upon him, by making use of those arguments I had brought forward to induce him to drop the matter altogether.—About four or five days after this, Sir Sdneiy called upon me again, and informed me, that upon making use with Sir John, of those reasons which I had authorised his stating to be those by which I was actuated in making the request that he would not press the business farther, he had not been able to resist their force, but that the whole extent of promise he had been able to obtain of him, amounted to no more than that *he would, under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested,* for that he would not pledge himself not to bring the subject forward *hereafter,* when the same motive might no longer operate to keep him silent. This result I communicated, to the best of my recollection, the following day, to the Princess, who seemed satisfied with it, and from that day to the present one, (November 10, 1805,) I never have heard the subject named again in any shape, until called upon by the Prince, to make known to him the circumstances of this transaction, as far as I could bring them to my recollection."

And now having fulfilled what the Prince wished me to do to the best of my abilities, in case hereafter any one, by whom a narrative of all the circumstances as related by Sir John and Lady Douglas, of whom I was informed by my brother, *subsequent* to our conversation, should imagine that I knew more of them than I have stated, I hereby spontaneously declare, that what I have written is the whole extent of what I was apprised of; and had the Princess thought proper to inform me of what, in the narrative of the information given by Sir John and Lady Douglas, is alluded to, I should have felt myself obliged to decline all interference in the business, and to have at the same time stated to her, that it would be impossible for me to keep a matter of such importance from the knowledge of the Prince.

(Signed) EDWARD.

December 27, 1805.

A true Copy,
B. BLOOMFIELD.

A true Copy,
J. BECKET.

Whitehall, 29th August, 1806.

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I have now laid before the reader the substance of all the examinations and depositions, for and against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and nothing remains to complete the history and facts of "*the delicate investigation*," but the report of the commissioners, and a sketch at least, of her Royal Highness's correspondence with the late King, including her able, and highly interesting defence it will be absolutely necessary to lay before the reader.

THE REPORT, after referring his Majesty to the authority on which the commissioners acted, viz. his own royal warrant, dated May 29, 1806, proceeds as follows: "We have, in dutiful obedience to your Majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your Majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time, humbly to refer your Majesty for more complete information to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any of this business. On a reference to the above mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of

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Wales; that these statements, not only imputed to her Royal Highness great impropriety, and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observations of the informants, the following most important facts, viz. That her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

"These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her Royal Highness, but had stated other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned. In the painful situation in which his Royal Highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his Royal Highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed, when informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line could only be pursued. Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty, and of concern for the

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public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and by possibility affecting the succession of your Majesty's Crown. Your Majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which in every respect demanded the most immediate investigation, your Majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your Majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them. On this view, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated; because, if they, on being examined on oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity of further investigation might possibly have been precluded. We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her Royal Highness, and the latter to the all-important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

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"The most material of these allegations, into the truth of which we have been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it to be our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information as to the facts in question. We thought it beyond all doubt, that in the course of inquiry many particulars must be learnt, which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations: so many persons must have been witnesses to the appearance of an actual existing pregnancy: so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery: and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess, that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

"This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare our perfect conviction, that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess of Wales is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

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The identity of the child now with the Princess, its parents, age, the place and date of its birth, the time and circumstance of its being first taken under her Royal Highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can in our judgment leave no question on this part of the subject. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in Brownlow-street Hospital on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the Princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declaration, a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways be known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed Depositions and Letters. We have not partially abstracted in this Report, lest by any unintentional omission we might weaken their effect: but we humbly offer to your Majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed upon full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry. We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our Report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire

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and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations. From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this Report, particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

"On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom; but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the Inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts,—that as on the one hand the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved; so on the other hand we think the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration. We cannot close this Report without humbly assuring your Majesty that it was on every account our anxious wish to have executed this delicate trust with as little publicity as the nature of the case

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would possibly allow; and we entreat your Majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us, all which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty."

The report presented to the late King, of which the above is nearly the whole, was signed, by Lords, Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, and the attested copy, signed by Mr. Becket, is dated July 14, 1806. It was accompanied by the several *Depositions*, of which the reader has already had the substance; nearly a month, however, elapsed before the Princess of Wales herself received a copy of it, by command of the King, but without the depositions, &c. &c. &c.; upon which she addressed his Majesty, by a letter, dated August 11th, acknowledging its receipt, and her gratitude for the attentions of his Majesty to her in this unhappy business; but complains, that the Lords Commissioners had given in the report to the King before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must, for a feeling and delicate minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. "But," continues her Royal Highness, "*I can, in the face of the Almighty*, assure your Majesty, that your daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable: *free from all the indecorums, and improprieties*, which

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are imputed to her at present by the Lords Commissioners, by the evidence of persons who spoke as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas." She then assures the King that she will give the most solemn denial in her power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood and Cole; in the mean time complaining, and, it cannot be denied, with much apparent justice, that the whole of the evidence on which the Commissioners had given credit to the infamous stories charged against her, was taken *behind her back*, without her having an opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons who might have been called, to prove the little credit that was due to some of the witnesses, from their connection with Sir John and Lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted.

It certainly tended in a very great degree to strengthen the presumption of the Princess's complete innocence, that the inquiries into her conduct were made behind her back; and the names of the persons who had accused her concealed from her till after the report was made. Concealments, of any description, wherein the honour and character of an individual are concerned, are cowardly and unjust; and it is a pitiful, not to say culpable, affectation of delicacy towards a witness, who has been called upon to state facts to the prejudice of another, that his or her name must not be divulged to the accused, lest it should excite

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his indignation. But so it very frequently happens, that a whisperer is concealed from the face of an innocent but accused individual, who, had a different line of conduct been pursued, might have been able to prove either that the witness was mistaken, or was unworthy of credit. Accusers, however, have always a sort of sympathetic affection for those who give evidence in their favour, and against those whom they seek to convict of crime. How many innocent persons have been the victim of this most unjust policy! But few have suffered more intensely from it, than her present Majesty, Queen Caroline; who, whether guilty or innocent, had an undoubted right to know and to see *every individual*, who spoke to her prejudice, before any report whatever had been presented to the King; more especially, as the Report that was presented, though it acquitted her of crime, left an impression of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour.

On the 17th of the same month, (August) her Royal Highness again addressed his Majesty; and once more expressed her great gratitude to him, for the kindness and protection she had uniformly received at his hands. In this letter she strictly states to the King, that, as the copies of the Report, and of the papers by which it was accompanied, came to her unauthenticated, by the signature of any person, high or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, was pledged for their being correct copies of the originals, her humble

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request is that they may be presented to her in a less doubtful form; complaining, at the same time, of certain erasures and interlineations, in a different hand-writing, which rendered those parts of the papers unintelligible. She refers particularly to Mrs. Lisle's examination.

In the second place, her Royal Highness observes, that the Report proceeds by reference to certain written declarations, which the Commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings; and which contains, as she presumes, the charge, or information, against her conduct; but copies of these written declarations had not been given to her. She accordingly proceeds to request that she may be furnished with copies, expressing her persuasion that the King, in directing that she should be furnished with a copy of the Report, intended also, that she should see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests. She, *secondly*, requests to know how many accusers she has, and who they are; *thirdly*, that she may be informed of the time when the declarations were made; and, *lastly*, that the papers, so authenticated, may be speedily returned to her, asserting, as an additional reason for urging this last request, that a delay similar to that which she had experienced in the Report, she should of all things deplore, as that would also delay the arrival of that moment when she would completely satisfy his Majesty that the whole of the charges against her were

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alike unfounded, and were all parts of the same conspiracy.

Three days after the date of this application to the King, the lord chancellor wrote to her Royal Highness, returning the box of papers, exactly as sent by her; stating, that he had so returned it to her, the day on which he received it, because he thought it might be more agreeable to her not to have it delayed, till other copies could be prepared, and sent to her, duly examined, and certified to be authentic.

Lord Erskine again wrote to the Princess on the 24th of August, stating, that his Majesty had transmitted to him her letter of the 17th, and had directed him to lay it before the Lords Commissioners. His lordship added, that he had received his Majesty's farther commands, to acquaint the Princess, that although the papers first sent to her Royal Highness were judged duly authenticated, according to the usual course and forms of office, yet his Majesty saw no reason for declining a compliance with her request; and that if she would transmit them to his lordship, they should be examined and attested accordingly, after correcting any errors that might have occurred in the copying. He had also the King's commands to furnish her Royal Highness with copies of the written declaration referred to in the Report.

Agreeably with this intimation, on the 29th, the lord chancellor transmitted to her Royal Highness the papers in question, a few minutes after he had

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received them from Earl Spencer. The day but one following, the Princess informed the lord chancellor, that the gentleman with whom she advised, and who had possession of the official papers communicated to her by his lordship, had been out of town, and had not returned till the evening before. He, however, said, that, as *other* copies had been promised to her Royal Highness, duly examined and certified to be so, he had relied upon being able to refer to those already sent, and therefore it would then be inconvenient to part with them.

On the 2nd of September, Lord Erskine once more wrote to her Royal Highness, stating that when he promised her other copies of the papers, he had done so without any communication with the other Commissioners, and thinking the former ones sufficiently authenticated; but he now, nevertheless, sent her the attested copies of the depositions, agreeably to her request.

Thus ended the correspondence, preliminary to that most valuable, curious, and highly interesting defence of the Princess of Wales, in her celebrated letter to the King, dated October 2d, 1806, and accompanied by several depositions, confirming the various statements made by her Royal Highness in the course of that long and able defence, of which the following is a faithful copy.*

* I trust the reader will be obliged by having the defence at length, as every well-wisher to her Majesty will be pleased to observe how completely she exonerates herself from the wicked

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TO THE KING.

SIRE,—Impressed, with the deepest sentiments of gratitude, for the countenance and protection, which I have hitherto uniformly received from your Majesty, I approach you, with a heart undismayed, upon this occasion, so awful and momentous to my character, my honour, and my happiness. I should, indeed, (under charges such as have now been brought against me,) prove myself undeserving of the continuance of that countenance and protection, and altogether unworthy of the high station, which I hold in your Majesty's illustrious family, if I sought for any partiality, for any indulgence, for any thing *more* than what is due to me in justice. My entire confidence in your Majesty's virtues assures me that I cannot meet with *less*.

The situation, which I have been so happy as to hold in your Majesty's good opinion and esteem; my station in your Majesty's august family; my life, my honour, and, through mine, the honour of your Majesty's family, have been attacked. Sir John and Lady Douglas have attempted to support a direct and precise charge, by which they have dared to impute to me, the enormous guilt of high treason, committed in the foul crime of adultery. In this charge, the extravagance of their malice has defeated itself. The Report of the Lords Commissioners, acting under your Majesty's warrant, has most fully cleared me of that charge. But there remain imputations, strangely sanctioned, and countenanced by that Report, on which I cannot remain silent, without incurring the most fatal consequences to my honour and character; for it states to your Majesty, that "The circumstances detailed against me must be credited, till they are decisively contradicted."

To contradict, with as much decision as the contradiction of an accused can convey; to expose the injustice and malice of my enemies; to show the utter impossibility of giving credit to their testimony; and to vindicate my own innocence, will

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charges brought against her on that occasion. The depositions to which the writer refers, as being made in her favour, shall be given, in substance, at least, by way of notes, on the pages wherein they are referred to. The other depositions, on which her Royal Highness remarks, are already sufficiently in the reader's recollection; and if any thing of consequence has been omitted in my analysis of them, it will be found amply supplied in the defence itself.

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be the objects, Sire, of this letter. In the course of my pursuing these objects, I shall have much to complain of, in the substance of the proceeding itself, and much in the manner of conducting it. That any of these charges should, ever, have been entertained, upon testimony so little worthy of belief, which betrayed, in every sentence, the malice in which it originated; that, even if they were entertained at all, your Majesty should have been advised to pass by the ordinary legal modes of inquiry into such high crimes, and to refer them to a commission, open to all the objection, which I shall have to state to such a mode of inquiry; that the Commissioners, after having negatived the principal charge of substantive crime, should have entertained considerations of matters that amounted to no legal offence, and which were adduced, not as substantive charges in themselves, but as matters in support of the principal accusation; that through the pressure and weight of their official occupations, they did not, perhaps, could not, bestow that attention on the case, which, if given to it, must have enabled them to detect the villany and falsehood of my accusers, and their foul conspiracy against me; and must have preserved my character from the weighty imputation which the authority of the Commissioners, has, for a time, cast upon it; but, above all, that they should, upon this *ex parte* examination, without hearing one word that I could urge, have reported to your Majesty an opinion on these matters, so prejudicial to my honour, and from which I can have no appeal, to the laws of the country, (because the charges, constituting no legal offence, cannot be made the ground of a judicial inquiry;)—These, and many other circumstances, connected with the length of the proceeding, which have cruelly aggravated to my feelings, the pain necessarily attendant upon this inquiry, I shall not be able to refrain from stating, and urging, as matters of serious lamentation at least, if not of well-grounded complaint.

In commenting upon any part of the circumstances, which have occurred in the course of this inquiry, whatever observations I may be compelled to make upon any of them, I trust, I never shall forget what is due to officers in high station, and employment, under your Majesty. No apology, therefore, can be required for any reserve in my expressions towards them. But if, in vindicating my innocence against the injustice and malice of my enemies, I should appear to your Majesty not to express

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myself, with all the warmth and indignation, which innocence, so foully calumniated, must feel, your Majesty will, I trust, not attribute my forbearance to insensibility to the grievous injuries I have sustained; but will graciously be pleased to ascribe it to the restraint I have imposed upon myself, lest in endeavouring to describe in just terms the motives, the conduct, the perjury, and all the foul circumstances, which characterize and establish the malice of my accusers, I might use language, which, though not unjustly applied to them, might be improper to be used, by me, to any body, or unfit to be employed, by any body, humbly, respectfully, and dutifully addressing your Majesty.

That a fit opportunity has occurred for laying open my heart to your Majesty, perhaps, I shall, hereafter, have no reason to lament. For more than two years, I had been informed, that, upon the presumption of some misconduct in me, my behaviour had been made the subject of investigation, and my neighbours and servants had been examined concerning it. And for some time I had received mysterious and indistinct intimations, that some great mischief was meditated towards me. And, in all the circumstances of my very peculiar situation, it will not be thought strange, that however conscious I was, that I had no just cause of fear, I should yet feel some uneasiness on this account. With surprise certainly (because the first tidings were of a kind to excite surprise,) but without alarm, I received the intelligence, that, for some reason, a formal investigation of some parts of my conduct had been advised, and had actually taken place. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on the 7th of June, announced it to me. He announced to me, the Princess of Wales, in the first communication made to me, with respect to this proceeding, the near approach of two attornies (one of them, I since find, the solicitor employed by Sir John Douglas,) claiming to enter my dwelling, with a warrant, to take away one half of my household, for immediate examination upon a charge against myself. Of the nature of that charge, I was then uninformed. It now appears, it was the charge of high treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery. His Royal Highness, I am sure, will do me the justice to represent to your Majesty, that I betrayed no fear, that I manifested no symptoms of conscious guilt, that I sought no excuses to prepare, or to tutor, my servants for the examination which they were

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to undergo. The only request which I made to his Royal Highness was, that he would have the goodness to remain with me till my servants were gone; that he might bear witness, that I had no conversation with them before they went. In truth, Sire, my anxieties, under a knowledge that some serious mischief was planning against me, and while I was ignorant of its quality and extent, had been so great that I could not but rejoice at an event, which seemed to promise me an early opportunity of ascertaining what the malice of my enemies intended against me.

It has not been, indeed, without impatience the most painful, that I have passed the interval, which has since elapsed. When once it was not only known to me, but to the world (for it was known to the world), that inquiry of the gravest nature had been instituted into my conduct, I looked to the conclusion, with all the eagerness that could belong to an absolute conviction, that my innocence, and my honour, to the disgrace and confusion of my accusers, would be established; and that the groundless malice, and injustice of the whole charge, would be manifested to the world as widely as the calumny had been circulated. I knew that the result of an *ex-parte* inquiry, from its very nature, could not, unless it fully asserted my entire innocence, be in any degree just. And I had taught myself most firmly to believe, that it was *utterly impossible*, that any opinion, which could, in the smallest degree, work a prejudice to my honour and character, could ever be expressed in any terms, by any persons, in a report upon a solemn formal inquiry, and more especially to your Majesty, without my having some notice, and some opportunity of being heard. And I was convinced, that, if the proceeding allowed me, before an opinion was expressed, the ordinary means, which accused persons have of vindicating their honour and their innocence, my honour and my innocence must, in any opinion, which could then be expressed, be fully vindicated, and effectually established. What then, Sire, must have been my astonishment, and my dismay, when I saw, that notwithstanding the principal accusation was found to be utterly false, yet some of the witnesses to those charges which were brought in support of the principal accusation; witnesses, whom, any person, interested to have protected my character, would easily have shown, out of their own mouths, to be utterly unworthy of credit, and confederates in foul conspiracy with my false accusers, are reported to be

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"free from all suspicion of unfavourable bias;" their veracity, in the judgment of the Commissioners, not to be questioned; and their infamous stories, and insinuations against me, to be "such as deserve the most serious consideration, and as must be credited till decisively contradicted."

The inquiry, after I thus had notice of it, continued for above * two months. I venture not to complain, as if it had been unnecessarily protracted. The important duties, and official avocations of the noble lords, appointed to carry it on, may naturally account for, and excuse, some delay. But however excusable it may have been, your Majesty will easily conceive the pain and anxiety, which this interval of suspense has occasioned; and your Majesty will not be surprised, if I further represent that I have found a great aggravation of my painful suffering, in the delay which occurred in communicating the Report to me. For though it is dated on the 14th of July, I did not receive it, notwithstanding your Majesty's gracious commands, till the 11th of August. It was due unquestionably to your Majesty, that the result of an Inquiry, commanded by your Majesty, upon advice, which had been offered, touching matters of the highest import, should be first, and immediately, communicated to you. The respect and honour due to the Prince of Wales, the interest which he must necessarily have taken in this Inquiry, combined to make it indisputably fit, that the result should be forthwith also stated to his Royal Highness. I complain not therefore that it was too early, communicated to any one: I complain only, (and I complain most seriously, for I felt it most severely) of the delay in its communication to me.

Rumour had informed the world, that the Report had been early communicated to your Majesty, and to his Royal Highness. I did not receive the benefit, intended for me by your Majesty's gracious command, till a month after the Report was signed. But the same rumour had represented me, to my infinite prejudice, as in possession of the Report, during that month; and

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* The time that the Inquiry was pending, after this notice of it, is here confounded with the time which elapsed before the Report was communicated to her Royal Highness. The Inquiry itself only lasted to the 14th or 16th of July, which is but between five and six weeks from the 7th of June.

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the malice of those, who wished to stain my honour, has not failed to suggest all that malice could infer, from its remaining in that possession, so long unnoticed. May I be permitted to say, that, if the Report acquits me, my innocence entitled me to receive from those, to whom your Majesty's commands had been given, an immediate notification of the fact that it did acquit me? That, if it condemned me, the weight of such a sentence should not have been left to settle, in any mind, much less upon your Majesty's, for a month, before I could even begin to prepare an answer, which, when begun, could not speedily be concluded; and that, if the Report could be represented as both acquitting and condemning me, the reasons, which suggested the propriety of an early communication in each of the former cases, combined to make it proper and necessary in the latter.

And why all consideration of my feelings was thus cruelly neglected; why I was kept upon the rack, during all this time, ignorant of the result of a charge, which affected my honour and my life; and why, especially in a case, where such grave matters were to continue to be "credited," to the prejudice of my honour, till they were "decidedly contradicted," the means of knowing what it was, that I must, at least, endeavour to contradict, were withholden from me, a single unnecessary hour, I know not, and I will not trust myself, in the attempt, to conjecture.

On the 11th of August, however, I at length received from the lord chancellor, a packet containing copies of the Warrant or Commission authorizing the Inquiry; of the Report; and of the Examinations on which the Report was founded. And your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that on the 13th I returned my grateful thanks to your Majesty, for having ordered these papers to be sent to me.

Your Majesty will readily imagine that, upon a subject of such importance, I could not venture to trust only to my own advice; and those with whom I advised, suggested, that the written Declarations or Charges, upon which the Inquiry had proceeded, and which the Commissioners refer to in their Report, and represent to be the essential foundation of the whole proceeding, did not accompany the Examinations and Report; and also that the papers themselves were not authenticated. I, therefore, ventured to address your Majesty, upon these supposed defects in the communication, and humbly requested that the copies of

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the papers, which I then returned, might, after being examined, and authenticated, be again transmitted to me; and that I might also be furnished with copies of the written Declarations, so referred to, in the Report. And my humble thanks are due for your Majesty's gracious compliance with my request. On the 29th of August, I received, in consequence, the attested copies of those Declarations, and of a narrative of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and a few days after, on the 3d of September, the attested copies of the Examinations which were taken before the Commissioners.*

By the copy, which I have received, of the Commission, or Warrant, under which the Inquiry has been prosecuted, it appears to be an instrument under your Majesty's Sign Manual, not countersigned, not under any seal.—It recites, that an abstract of certain written Declarations, touching my conduct, (without specifying by whom those Declarations, were made, or the nature of the matters, touching which they had been made, or even by whom the abstract had been prepared,) had been laid before your Majesty; into the truth of which it purports to authorize the four noble Peers, who are named in it, to inquire and to examine upon oath, such persons as they think fit; and to report to your Majesty the result of their Examination. By referring to the written Declarations, it appears that they contain allegations against me, amounting to the charge of high treason, and also other matters, which, if understood to be, as they seem to have been acted and reported upon, by the Commissioners, not as evidence confirmatory (as they are expressed to be in their title) of the principal charge, but as distinct and substantive subjects of examination, cannot, as I am advised, be represented as in law amounting to crimes. How most of the Declarations referred to were collected, by whom, at whose solicitation, under what sanction, and before what persons, magistrates or others, they were made, does not appear. By the title, indeed, which all the written Declarations, except Sir John and Lady Douglas's bear; viz. "That they had been taken for the purpose of cou-

* Her Royal Highness next merely enumerates the names and dates of the several papers she had received, and on which she would have occasion to remark.

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firming Lady Douglas's Statement," it may be collected that they had been made by her, or at least by Sir John Douglas's procurement. And the concluding passage of one of them, I mean the fourth declaration of W. Cole, strengthens this opinion, as it represents Sir John Douglas, accompanied by his solicitor, Mr. Lowten, to have gone down as far as Cheltenham for the examination of two of the witnesses whose declarations are there stated. I am, however, at a loss to know, at this moment, whom I am to consider, or whom I could legally fix on, as my false accuser. —From the circumstance last mentioned, it might be inferred, that Sir John and Lady Douglas, or one of them, is that accuser. But Lady Douglas, in her written Declaration, so far from representing the information which she then gives, as moving voluntarily from herself, expressly states that she gives it under the direct command of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the papers leave me without information, from whom any communication to the Prince originated, which induced him to give such commands.

Upon the questions, how far the advice is agreeable to law, under which it was recommended to your Majesty to issue this Warrant or Commission, not countersigned, nor under seal, and without any of your Majesty's advisers, therefore, being, on the face of it, responsible for its issuing, I am not competent to determine. And, undoubtedly, considering that the two high legal authorities, the lord chancellor, and the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, consented to act under it, it is with the greatest doubt and diffidence, that I can bring myself to express any suspicion of its illegality. But if it be, as I am given to understand it is, open to question, whether, consistently with law, your Majesty should have been advised to command, by this Warrant or Commission, persons, not to act in any known character, as secretaries of state, as privy counsellors, as magistrates otherwise empowered; but to act, as Commissioners, and under the sole authority of such warrant, to inquire (without any authority to hear and determine any thing upon the subject of those Inquiries,) into the known crime of high treason, under the sanction of oaths, to be administered by them, as such Commissioners, and to report the result thereof to your Majesty. If, I say, there can be any question upon the legality of such a Warrant or Commission, the extreme hardship with which it has

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operated upon me, the extreme prejudice which it has done to my character, and to which such a proceeding must ever expose the person who is the object of it, obliges me, till I am fully convinced of its legality, to forbear from acknowledging its authority; and, with all humility and defereuce to your Majesty, to protest against it, and against all the proceedings under it.

If this, indeed, were matter of mere form, I should be ashamed to urge it. But the actual hardship and prejudice which I have suffered, by this proceeding, are most obvious. For, upon the principal charge against me, the Commissioners have most satisfactorily, and "without the least hesitation," for such is their expression, reported their opinion of its falsehood. Sir John and Lady Douglas, therefore, who have sworn to its truth, have been guilty of the plainest falsehood; yet, upon the supposition of the illegality of this Commission, their falsehood must, as I am informed, go unpunished. Upon that supposition, the want of legal authority in the Commissioners to inquire and to administer an oath, will render it impossible to give to this falsehood the character of perjury. But this is by no means the circumstance which I feel the most severely. Beyond the vindicating of my own character, and the consideration of providing for my future security, I can assure your Majesty, that the punishment of Sir John and Lady Douglas would afford me no satisfaction. It is not, therefore, with regard to that part of the charge, which is negatived, but with respect to those, which are sanctioned by the Report, those, which, not aiming at my life, exhaust themselves upon my character, and which the Commissioners have, in some measure, sanctioned by their Report, that I have the greatest reason to complain. Had the Report sanctioned the principal charge, constituting a known legal crime, my innocence would have emboldened me, at all risk, (and to more, no person has ever been exposed from the malice and falsehood of accusers) to have demanded that trial, which could legally determine upon the truth or falsehood of such charge. Though I should even then indeed have had some cause to complain, because I should have gone to that trial, under the prejudice, necessarily raised, against me, by that Report; yet in a proceeding before the just, open, and known tribunals of your Majesty's kingdom, I should have had a safe appeal from the result of an *ex-parte* investigation. An investigation which has exposed me to all the hard-

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ships of a *secret* Inquiry, without giving me the benefit of *secrecy*; and to all the severe consequences of a public investigation in point of injury to my character, without affording me any of its substantial benefits in point of security. But the charges, which the Commissioners do sanction by their Report, describing them, with a mysterious obscurity and indefinite generality, constitute, as I am told, no legal crime. They are described as "instances of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour," which must "occasion the most unfavourable interpretations," and they are reported to your Majesty, and they are stated to be, "circumstances which must be credited till they are decisively contradicted."

From this opinion, this judgment of the Commissioners, bearing so hard upon my character; (and that a female character, how delicate, and how easily to be affected by the breath of calumny your Majesty well knows) I can have no appeal. For, as the charges constitute no legal crimes, they cannot be the subjects of any legal trial. I can call for no trial. I can therefore have no appeal; I can look for no acquittal. Yet this opinion, or this judgment, from which I can have no appeal, has been pronounced against me upon mere *ex-parte* investigation.

This hardship, Sire, I am told to ascribe to the nature of the proceeding under this Warrant or Commission; for had the Inquiry been entered into before your Majesty's privy council, or before any magistrates, authorized by law as such, to inquire into the existence of treason, the known course of proceeding before that council, or such magistrates, the known extent of their jurisdiction over crimes, and not over the proprieties of behaviour, would have preserved me from the possibility of having matters made the subjects of inquiry which had in law no substantive criminal character, and from the extreme hardship of having my reputation injured by calumny altogether unfounded, but rendered at once more safe to my enemies, and more injurious to me, by being uttered, in the course of a proceeding, assuming the grave semblance of legal form. And it is by the nature of this proceeding, (which could alone have countenanced or admitted of this licentious latitude of inquiry, into the proprieties of behaviour in private life, with which no court, no magistrate, no public law has any authority to interfere) that I have been

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deprived of the benefit of that entire and unqualified acquittal and discharge from this accusation, to which the utter and proved falsehood of the accusation itself so justly entitled me.

I trust therefore that your Majesty will see that if this proceeding is not one to which, by the known laws of your Majesty's kingdom, I ought to be subject, that it is no cold formal objection which leads me to protest against it.

I am ready to acknowledge, Sire, from the consequences which might arise to the public, from such misconduct as have been falsely imputed to me, that my honour and virtue are of more importance to the state than those of other women. That my conduct therefore may be fitly subjected, when necessary, to a severer scrutiny. But it cannot follow, because my character is of more importance, that it may therefore be attacked with more impunity. And as I know that this mischief has been pending over my head for more than two years, that private examinations of my neighbours' servants, and of my own, have, at times, during that interval, been taken, for the purpose of establishing charges against me, not indeed by the instrumentality of Sir John and Lady Douglas alone, but by the sanction, and in the presence of the Earl of Moira (as your Majesty will perceive by the deposition of Jonathan Partridge which I subjoin*); and as I know also, and can make appear to your Majesty likewise, by the same means, that declarations of persons of unquestionable credit,

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* The deposition of Partridge does not possess any features of great interest; stating merely, that having been informed he was wanted at Lord Moira's, he accordingly went to his Lordship's house on the King's birth-day, 1804; when his Lordship asked deponent if he remembered the Princess coming to Belvidere sometime before; to which he replied that he did remember her Royal Highness coming, together with two or three ladies, and a gentleman on horseback; that they merely looked at the pictures, and lunched there; that they never went up stairs; nor did they stay above an hour, or an hour and a quarter. This was all the deponent had to say; he was, however, afterwards, again sent for by his Lordship, to know if he, the deponent, was sure of what he had said being all that he could say respecting the Princess, which was answered in the affirmative, and that the deponent was ready to take his oath of it, if his Lordship thought proper.

This deponent was sworn, before Mr. Leach, at the county court of Middlesex, in Fullwood's Rents, September 25th, 1806.

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respecting my conduct, attesting my innocence, and directly falsifying a most important circumstance respecting my supposed pregnancy, mentioned in the declarations on which the Inquiry was instituted; as I know, I say, that those declarations, so favourable to me, appear, to my infinite prejudice, not to have been communicated to your Majesty when that Inquiry was commanded; and as I know not how soon nor how often proceedings against me may be meditated by my enemies, I take leave to express my humble trust, that, before any other proceedings may be had against me, (desirable as it may have been thought that the Inquiry should have been of the nature which has, in this instance, obtained,) your Majesty would be graciously pleased to require to be advised, whether my guilt, if I were guilty, could not be as effectually discovered and punished, and my honour and innocence, if innocent, be more effectually secured and established by other more known and regular modes of proceeding.

Having therefore, Sire, upon these grave reasons, ventured to submit, I trust without offence, these considerations upon the nature of the Commission, and the proceedings under it, I will now proceed to observe upon the Report, and the Examinations; and, with your Majesty's permission, I will go through the whole matter, in that course which has been observed by the Report itself, and which an examination of the important matters that it contains, in the order in which it states them, will naturally suggest.

The Report, after referring to the commission or warrant under which their Lordships were acting, after stating that they had proceeded to examine the several witnesses, whose depositions they annexed to their Report, proceeds to state the effect of the written declarations, which the Commissioners considered as the essential foundation of the whole proceeding. "That they were statements which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess; that these statements not only imputed to her Royal Highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alledged declarations from the Princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts; viz. that her Royal Highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse; and that she had in the

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same year been secretly delivered of a male child; which child had ever since that period been brought up by her Royal Highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection. These allegations, thus made, had, as the Commissioners found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her Royal Highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, when connected with the assertions already mentioned. The Report then states, that, in the painful situation in which his Royal Highness was placed by these declarations, they learnt that he had adopted the only course which could, in their judgment, with propriety be followed, when informations such as these had been thus confidently alledged and particularly detailed, and had, in some degree, been supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent,) one line could only be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your Majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your Majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state so nearly touching the honour of your Majesty's Royal Family, and by possibility affecting the succession to your Majesty's crown."

The Commissioners, therefore, your Majesty observes, going, they must permit me to say, a little out of their way, begin their Report by expressing a clear and decided opinion that his Royal Highness was properly advised (for your Majesty will undoubtedly conclude, that, upon a subject of this importance, his Royal Highness could not but have acted by the advice of others,) in referring this complaint to your Majesty, for the purpose of its undergoing the investigation which has followed. And, unquestionably, if the charge referred to in this Report, as made by Sir John and Lady Douglas, had been presented under circumstances in which any reasonable degree of credit could be given to them, or even if they had not been presented in such a manner as to impeach the credit of the informers, and to bear internal evidence of their own incredibility, I should be the last person who would be disposed to dispute the wisdom of the advice which led to make them the subject of the gravest and most anxious Inquiry. And your Majesty, acting upon a mere abstract of the declarations, which was

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all that, by the recital of the warrant, appears to have been laid before your Majesty, undoubtedly could not but direct an Inquiry concerning my conduct. For though I have not been furnished with that abstract, yet I must presume that it described the criminatory contents of these declarations, much in the same manner as they are stated in the Report. And the criminatory parts of these declarations, if viewed without reference to those traces of malice and resentment, with which the declarations of Sir John and Lady Douglas abound; if abstracted from all these circumstances, which show the extreme improbability of the story, the length of time which my accuser had kept my alledged guilt concealed, the contradictions observable in the declarations of the other witnesses, all which, I submit to your Majesty, are to an extent to cast the greater discredit upon the truth of these declarations;—abstracted, I say, from these circumstances, the criminatory parts of them were unquestionably such as to have placed your Majesty under the necessity of directing some Inquiry concerning them. But that those who had the opportunity of reading the long and malevolent narration of Sir John and Lady Douglas should not have hesitated before they gave any credit to it, is matter of the greatest astonishment to me.

The improbability of the story would of itself, I should have imagined (unless they believed me to be as insane as Lady Douglas insinuates,) have been sufficient to have staggered the belief of any unprejudiced mind. For to believe that story, they were to begin with believing that a person guilty of so foul a crime, so highly penal, so fatal to her honour, her station, and her life, should gratuitously, and uselessly, have confessed it. Such a person, under the necessity of concealing her pregnancy, might have been indispensably obliged to confide her secret with those to whom she was to look for assistance in concealing its consequences. But Lady Douglas, by her own account, was informed by me of this fact for no purpose whatever. She makes me, as those who read her declarations cannot fail to have observed, state to her, that she should, on no account, be intrusted with any part of the management by which the birth was to be concealed. They were to believe also, that, anxious as I must have been to have concealed the birth of any such child, I had determined to bring it up in my own house; and what would exceed, as I should imagine, the extent of all human credulity, that I had determined to

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suckle it myself: that I had laid my plan, if discovered, to have imposed it upon his Royal Highness as his child. Nay, they were to believe that I had stated, and that Lady Douglas had believed the statement to be true, that I had in fact attempted to suckle it, and only gave up that part of my plan because it made me nervous, and was too much for my health. And after all this, they were then to believe, that having made Lady Douglas, thus unnecessarily, the confidant of this most important and dangerous secret; having thus put my character and my life in her hands, I sought an occasion, wantonly, and without provocation, from the mere fickleness and wilfulness of my own mind, to quarrel with her, to insult her openly and violently in my own house, to endeavour to ruin her reputation, to expose her in infamous and indecent drawings enclosed in letters to her husband. The letters indeed are represented to have been anonymous; but, though anonymous, they are stated to have been written with my own hand, so undisguised in penmanship and style, that every one who had the least acquaintance with either could not fail to discover them; and (as if it were through fear lest it should not be sufficiently plain from whom they came) that I had sealed them with a seal which I had shortly before used on an occasion of writing to her husband. All this they were to believe upon the declaration of a person who, with all that loyalty and attachment which she expresses to your Majesty, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with all her obligation to the whole Royal Family, (to whom she expresses herself to be bound by ties of respectful regard and attachment which nothing can ever break,) with all her dread of the mischievous consequences to the country which might arise from the disputed succession to the Crown, on the pretensions of an illegitimate child of mine, nevertheless continued, after this supposed avowal of my infamy, and my crime, after my supposed acknowledgment of the birth of this child, which was to occasion all this mischief, to preserve, for near a twelvemonth, her intimacy and apparent friendship with me: nay, for two years more, after that intimacy had ceased, after that friendship had been broken off, by my alledged misbehaviour to her, continued still faithful to my secret, and never disclosed it till (as her declaration states it) "The Princess of Wales recommenced a fresh torrent of outrage against Sir John, and Sir John discovered that she was attempting to undermine his and Lady Douglas's character."

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Those, then, who had the opportunity of seeing the whole of this Narrative, having had their jealousy awakened by these circumstances to the improbability of the story, and to the discredit of the informer, when they came to observe how maliciously every circumstance that imagination could suggest, as most calculated to make a woman contemptible and odious, was scraped and heaped up together in this Narrative, must surely have had their eyes opened to the motives of my accusers, and their minds cautioned against giving too easy a credit to their accusation, when they found my conversation to be represented as most loose and infamous; my mind uninstructed, and unwilling to learn; my language, with regard to your Majesty, and the whole of your Royal Family, foully disrespectful and offensive; and all my manners and habits of life most disgusting, I should have flattered myself that I could not have been, in character, so wholly unknown to them, but that they must have observed a spirit, and a colouring at least in this representation, which must have proved much more against the disposition and character of the informers, and the quality of their information, than against the person who was the object of their charge. But when, in addition to all this, the Declaration states that I had, with respect to my unfortunate and calamitous separation from his Royal Highness, stated that I had acknowledged myself to have been the aggressor from the beginning, and myself alone; and when it further states, that if any other woman had so played and sported with her husband's comfort and popularity, she would have been turned out of his house, or left alone in it, and have deservedly forfeited *her place in society*; and further still, when, alledging that I had once been desirous of procuring a separation from his Royal Highness, and had pressed former chancellors to accomplish this purpose, it flippantly adds, that "The chancellor may now perhaps be able to grant her request," the malicious object of the whole must surely have been most obvious.

For supposing these facts to have been all true; supposing this infamous and libellous description of my character had been nothing but a correct and faithful representation of my vices and my infamy, would it not have been natural to have asked why they were introduced into this Declaration? What effect could they have had upon the charge of crime, and of adultery, which it was intended to establish? If it was only in execution of a painful

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duty, which a sense of loyalty to your Majesty, and obedience to the commands of the Prince of Wales, at length reluctantly drew from them, why all this malicious accompaniment? "His Royal Highness," indeed they say, "desired that they would communicate the whole circumstance of their acquaintance with me, from the day they first spoke with me till the present time; a full detail of all that passed during our acquaintance," and "how they became known to me, it appearing to his Royal Highness, from the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, that his Majesty's dearest interests, and those of this country, were very deeply interested in the question," and "that he particularly commanded them to be very circumstantial in their detail respecting all they might know relative to the child that I affected to adopt."

But from the whole of this it is sufficiently apparent that the particularity of this detail was required, by his Royal Highness, in respect of matters connected with that question, in which the dearest interests of your Majesty and this country were involved; and not of circumstances which could have no bearing on those interests. If it had been therefore true, as I most solemnly protest it is not, that I had, in the confidence of private conversation, so far forgot all sense of decency, loyalty, and gratitude, as to have expressed myself with that disrespect of your Majesty which is imputed to me;—if I had been, what I trust those who have lived with me, or ever have partaken of my society, would not confirm, of a mind so uninformed and uncultivated, without education or talents, or without any desire of improving myself, incapaple of employment, of a temper so furious and violent as altogether to form a character which no one could bear to live with who had the means of living elsewhere,—what possible progress would all this make towards proving that I was guilty of adultery? These, and such like insinuations, as false as they are malicious, could never have proved crime in me, however manifestly they might display the malice of my accusers.

Must it not then have occurred to any one who had seen the whole of this Narrative, if the motive of my accusers was, as they represent it, merely that of good patriots, of attached and loyal subjects, bound, in execution of a painful duty, imposed upon them by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to disclose, in detail, all the facts which could establish my guilt, that these

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circumstances never would have made a part of their detail? But, on the other hand, if their object was to traduce me,—if, falsely attributing to his Royal Highness sentiments which could belong to no generous bosom, but measuring his nature by their own, they thought, vainly and wickedly, to ingratiate themselves with him, by being the instruments of accomplishing my ruin;—if aiming at depriving me of my rank and station, or of driving me from this country, they determined to bring forward a charge of treason against me, which, though they knew in their consciences it was false, yet they might hope would serve at least as a cover and a pretence for such an imputation upon my character, as, rendering my life intolerable in this country, might drive me to seek a refuge in another; if, the better to effectuate this purpose, they had represented all my misfortunes as my faults, and my faults alone, drawn an odious and disgusting picture of me, to extinguish every sentiment of pity and compassion which, in the generosity, not only of your Majesty's royal bosom, and of the members of your Royal Family, but of all the inhabitants of your kingdom, might arise to commiserate the unfortunate situation of a stranger persecuted under a charge originating in their malice;—if for this they flung out that I had justly forfeited my station in society, and that a separation from my husband was what I myself had once wished, and what the chancellor might now perhaps procure for me;—or if, in short, their object was to obtain my condemnation by prejudice, inflamed by falsehood, which never could be obtained by justice, informed by truth, then the whole texture of the declaration is consistent, and it is well contrived and executed for its purpose. But it is strange that its purpose should have escaped the detection of intelligent and impartial minds. There was enough at least to have made them pause before they gave such a degree of credit to informations of this description, as to have made them the foundations of so important and decisive a step as that of advising them to be laid before your Majesty.

And, indeed, such seems to have been the effect which this declaration at first produced. Because if it had been believed, the only thing to have been done (according to the judgment of the Commissioners) would have been to have laid it immediately before your Majesty, to whom, upon every principle of duty, the communication was due. But the declaration was made on the

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3rd of December, in the last year, and the communication was not made to your Majesty till the very end of May. And that interval appears to have been employed in collecting those other additional declarations which are referred to in the Report, and which your Majesty has likewise been pleased, by your gracious commands, to have communicated to me.

These additional declarations do not, I submit, appear to furnish much additional reason for believing the incredible story. They were taken indeed "for the purpose," (for they are so described; this is the title which is prefixed to them in the authentic copies with which I have been furnished,) "for the purpose of confirming the statement made by Lady Douglas of the circumstances mentioned in her narrative;" and they are the examinations of two persons, who appear to have formerly lived in the family of Sir John and Lady Douglas, and of several servants of my own; they are filled with the hearsay details of other servants' declarations. And one of them, W. Cole, seems to have been examined over and over again. No less than four of his examinations are given, and some of them evidently refer to other examinations of his, which are not given at all.

These, I submit to your Majesty, are rendered, from this marked circumstance, particularly undeserving of credit; because, in the only instance in which the hearsay statement related to one servant was followed by the examination of the other, who was stated to have made it, (I mean an instance in which Cole relates what he had heard said by F. Lloyd,) F. Lloyd does not appear to have said any such thing, or even to have heard what she is by him related to have said; and she relates the fact that she really did hear, stripped of all the particulars with which Cole had coloured it, and which alone made it in any degree deserving to be mentioned. Besides this, the parents of the child which is ascribed to me by Lady Douglas are plainly pointed out, and a clue is afforded, by which, if followed, it would have been as easy to have ascertained that that child was no child of mine, (if indeed it ever had been seriously believed to be so,) and to have proved whose child it was before the appointment of the Commissioners as it had been found to be afterwards.

So far, therefore, from concurring with the Commissioners in approving the advice under which his Royal Highness had acted, I conceive it to have been at least cruel and inconsiderate to have

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advised the transmission of such a charge to your Majesty till they had exhausted all the means which private inquiry could have afforded to ascertain its falsehood or its truth.

And when it appears, that it was not thought necessary, upon the first statement of it, as the Commissioners seemed to have imagined, forthwith to transmit it to your Majesty, but it was retained for near six months, from the beginning of December till near the end of May, what is due to myself obliges me to state, that if there had but been, in that interval, half the industry employed to remove suspicions which was exerted to raise them, there would never have existed a necessity for troubling your Majesty with this charge at all. I beg to be understood as imputing this solely to the advice given to his Royal Highness. He must, of necessity, have left the detail and the determination upon this business to others. And it is evident to me, from what I now know, that his Royal Highness was not fairly dealt with; that material information was obtained to disprove part of the case against me, which not appearing in the declarations that were transmitted to your Majesty, I conclude was never communicated to his Royal Highness.

Feeling, Sire, strongly, that I have much to complain of, that this foul charge should have been so readily credited, to my great prejudice, as to have occasioned that advice to be given which recommended the transmission of it to your Majesty, (who, once formally in possession of it, could not fail to subject it to some inquiry,) I have dwelt, perhaps, at a tedious length, in disputing the propriety of the Commissioners' judgment in thus approving the course which was pursued; and, looking to the event, and all the circumstances connected with it, perhaps I have reason to rejoice that the Inquiry has taken place. For if three years' concealment of my supposed crime could not impeach the credit of my accusers, three times that period might perhaps be thought to have left that credit still unimpaired. And had the false charge been delayed till death had taken away the real parents of the child, which Lady Douglas charges to be mine; if time had deprived me of those servants and attendants who have been able so fully to disprove the fact of my alledged pregnancy, I know not where I could have found the means of disproving facts and charges so falsely, so confidently, and positively sworn to, as those which Lady Douglas has attested.

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Following, as I proposed, the course taken in the Report, I next come to that part of it to which unquestionably I must recur with the greatest satisfaction; because it is that part which so completely absolves me of every possible suspicion upon the two material charges of pregnancy and child-birth.

The Commissioners state, in their Report, that they began by examining, "on oath, the two principal informants, Sir John and Lady Douglas, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of pregnancy, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to the Report, and are circumstantial and positive." The most material of "the allegations, into the truth of which they had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded," they state, "that they felt it their duty to follow up the Inquiry by the examination of such other persons as they judged best able to afford them information as to the facts in question." "We thought it," they say, "beyond all doubt, that in this course of Inquiry many particulars must be learnt which would be *necessarily conclusive* on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actual existing pregnancy, so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery, and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the Princess, that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject." "This expectation," they proceeded to state, "was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your Majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries." They then proceed to refer to the circumstantial evidence, by which they state that it was proved that the child was, beyond all doubt, born in Brownlow-street Hospital, on 11th July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and brought to my house in the month of November fol-

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lowing.—" Neither should we," they add, " be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alledged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations; a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must, in various ways, have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit." Then, after stating that they have annexed the depositions from which they have collected these opinions, they add—" We humbly offer to your Majesty our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole Inquiry."

These two most important facts, therefore, which are charged against me, being so fully and satisfactorily disposed of by the unanimous and clear judgment of the Commissioners; being so fully and completely disproved by the evidence which the Commissioners collected, I might, perhaps, in your Majesty's judgment, appear well justified in passing them by without any observation of mine. But though the observations which I shall make shall be very few, yet I cannot forbear just dwelling upon this part of the case for a few minutes; because, if I do not much deceive myself, upon every principle which can govern the human mind, in the investigation of the truth of any charge, the fate of this part of the accusation must have decisive weight upon the determination of the remainder. I therefore must beg to remark, that Sir John Douglas swears to my having appeared, some time after our acquaintance had commenced, to be with child, and that one day I leaned on the sofa, and put my hand upon my stomach, and said, " Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England;" and he said, " not if you don't deserve," and I seemed angry at first.

This conversation, I apprehend, if it has the least relation to the subject on which Sir John was examined, must be given for the purpose of insinuating that I made an allusion to my pregnancy, as if there was a sort of understanding between him and me upon the subject, and that he made me angry by an expression which implied that what I alluded to would forfeit my right to be Queen of England.—If this is not the meaning which Sir John intends to be annexed to this conversation, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive what he can intend to convey.—Whether at any time, when I have felt myself unwell, I may have used the ex-

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pression which he here imputes to me, my memory will not enable me, with the least degree of certainty, to state. The words themselves seem to me to be perfectly innocent; and the action of laying my hand upon my breast, if occasioned by any sense of internal pain at the moment, neither unnatural, nor, as it appears to me, in any way censurable. But that I could have used these words, intending to convey to Sir John Douglas the meaning which I suppose him to insinuate, surpasses all human credulity to believe. I could not, however, forbear to notice this passage in Sir John's examination, because it must serve to demonstrate to your Majesty how words, in themselves most innocent, are endeavoured to be tortured, by being brought into the context with his opinion of my pregnancy, to convey a meaning most contrary to that which I could by possibility have intended to convey, but which it was necessary that he should impute to me, to give the better colour to this false accusation.

As to Sir John Douglas, however, when he swears to the appearance of my pregnancy, he possibly might be only mistaken. Not that mistake will excuse or diminish the guilt of so scandalous a falsehood upon oath. But for Lady Douglas there cannot be even such an excuse. Independent of all those extravagant confessions which she falsely represents me to have made, she states, upon her own observation and knowledge, that I was pregnant in the year 1802. Now, in the habits of intercourse and intimacy with which I certainly did live with her at that time, she could not be mistaken as to that fact. It is impossible, therefore, that in swearing positively to that fact, which is so positively disproved, she can fail to appear to your Majesty to be wilfully and deliberately forsworn.

As to the conversations which she asserts to have passed between us, I am well aware that those who prefer her word to mine will not be satisfied to disbelieve her upon my bare denial; nor, perhaps, upon the improbability and extravagance of the supposed conversations themselves. But as to the facts of pregnancy and delivery, which are proved to be false, in the words of the Report, "by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, they must in various ways have been known," no person living can doubt that the crime of adultery and treason, as proved by those facts, has been attempted to be fixed upon me, by the deliberate and wilful falsehood of this my most forward accuser. And when it is once

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established, as it is, that my pregnancy and delivery are all Sir John and Lady Douglas's invention, I should imagine that my confessions of a pregnancy which never existed; my confession of a delivery which never took place; my confession of having suckled a child which I never bore, will hardly be believed upon the credit of her testimony. The credit of Lady Douglas, therefore, being thus destroyed, I trust your Majesty will think that I ought to seem to answer to any thing which her examination may contain, except so far as there may appear to be any additional and concurrent evidence to support it.

This brings me to the remaining part of the Report, which I read, I do assure your Majesty, with a degree of astonishment and surprise that I know not how to express. How the Commissioners could, upon such evidence, from such witnesses, upon such an information, and in such an *ex-parte* proceeding, before I had had the possibility of being heard, not only suffer themselves to form such an opinion, but to report it to your Majesty, with all the weight and authority of their great names, I am perfectly at a loss to conceive. Their great official and judicial occupations, no doubt, prevented that full attention to the subject which it required. But I am not, surely, without just grounds of complaint, if they proceeded to pronounce an opinion upon my character without all that consideration and attention which the importance of it, to the peace of your Majesty's mind, to the honour of your Royal Family, and the reputation of the Princess of Wales, seem, indispensably, to have demanded.

In the part of the Report already referred to, the particulars of the charge, exclusive of those two important facts which have been so satisfactorily disposed of, are, as I have already observed, variously described by the Commissioners; as "matters of great impropriety and indecency of behaviour;" as "other particulars in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned;" and as "points of the same nature, though going to a much less extent." But they do not become the subject of particular attention in the Report till after the Commissioners had concluded that part of it in which they give so decisive an opinion against the truth of the charge upon the two material facts. They then proceed to state—

"That they cannot close their Report there, much as they

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could wish it; that besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty had required their Inquiry and Report, contain *other particulars respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.* That from various depositions and proofs annexed to their Report, *particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, W. Cole, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, several strong circumstances of this description* have been positively sworn to by witnesses *who cannot, in the judgment of the Commissioners, be suspected of any unfavourable bias*, and whose veracity, in THIS RESPECT, they had *seen no ground to question.*" They then state, that "on the precise bearing and effect of the facts, thus appearing, it is not for them to decide; these they submit to your Majesty's wisdom: but they conceive it to be their duty to report on this part of the Inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts; that as, on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are, in their minds, satisfactorily disproved, so, on the other hand, they think, *that the circumstances to which they now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction, and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration*"

Your Majesty will not fail to observe that the Commissioners have entered into the examination of *this part* of the case, and have reported upon it, not merely as evidence in confirmation of the charges of pregnancy and delivery, which they have completely negatived and disposed of, but as containing substantive matters of charge in itself. That they consider it, indeed, as relating to points "of the same nature, but going to a much less extent," not, therefore, as constituting actual crime, but as amounting to "improprieties and indecencies of behaviour, aggravated by the exalted rank which I hold," as "occasioning unfavourable interpretations," and as "entitled to the most serious consideration." And when they also state that it is not for them to decide on their precise bearing and effect, I think I am justified in concluding that they could not class them under any known head of crime; as, in that case, upon their bearing and effect they would have been fully competent to have pronounced.

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I have, to a degree, already stated to your Majesty, the unprecedented hardship to which I conceive myself to have been exposed, by this *ex-parte* Inquiry into the decorum of my private conduct. I have already stated the prejudice done to my character, by this recorded censure, from which I can have no appeal; and I press these considerations no further upon your Majesty, at present, than to point out, in passing this part of the Report, the just foundations which it affords me for making the complaint.

Your Majesty will also, I am persuaded, not fail to remark the strange obscurity and reserve, the mysterious darkness, with which the Report here expresses itself; and every one must feel how this aggravates the severity and cruelty of the censure, by rendering it impossible distinctly and specifically to meet it. The Commissioners state indeed that some things are proved against me, which must be credited till they shall receive a decisive contradiction, but what those things are they do not state. They are "particulars and circumstances which, especially considering my exalted rank, must give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations. There are several strong circumstances of this description;" "they are, if true, justly deserving of most serious consideration," and they "must be credited till decidedly contradicted." But what are these circumstances? What are these deeds without a name? Was there ever a charge so framed? Was ever any one put to answer any charge, and decidedly to contradict it, or submit to have it credited against him, which was conceived in such terms, without the means of ascertaining what these things are, except as conjecture may enable me to surmise, to what parts of the examinations of the four witnesses on whom they particularly rely, they attach the importance and the weight which seem to them to justify these dark and ambiguous censures on my conduct? But such as they are, and whatever they may be, they must, your Majesty is told, be credited unless they are decidedly contradicted.

Circumstances, respecting Captain Manby, indeed, are particularized; but referring to the depositions which apply to him, they contain much matter of opinion, of hearsay, of suspicion. Are these hearsays, are these opinions, are these suspicions, and conjectures of these witnesses, to be believed against me, unless decidedly contradicted? How can I decidedly contradict another person's opinion? I may reason against its justice, but how can

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I contradict it? Or how can I decidedly contradict any thing which is not precisely specified, nor distinctly known to me?

Your Majesty will also observe that the Report states that it is not for the Commissioners to decide upon the bearing and effect of these facts; these are left for your Majesty's decision. But they add that, if true, they are justly entitled to the most serious consideration. I cannot, Sire, but collect from these passages an intimation that some further proceedings may be meditated. And, perhaps, if I acted with perfect prudence, seeing how much reason I have to fear from the fabrications of falsehood, I ought to have waited till I knew what course, civil or criminal, your Majesty might be advised to pursue, before I offered any observations or answer. To this alternative, however, I am driven. I must either remain silent, and reserve my defence, leaving the imputation to operate most injuriously and fatally to my character; or I must, by entering into a defence against so extended a charge, expose myself with much greater hazard to any future attacks. But the fear of *possible* danger, to arise from the perverted interpretation of my answer, cannot induce me to acquiesce, under the *certain* mischief of the unjust censure and judgment which stands against me, as it were, recorded in this Report. I shall therefore, at whatever hazard, proceed to submit to your Majesty, in whose justice I have the most satisfactory reliance, my answer and my observations upon this part of the case.

And here, Sire, I cannot forbear again presuming to state to your Majesty, that it is not a little hard, that the Commissioners (who state in the beginning of their Report, that certain particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, were, in the judgment which they had formed upon them, before they entered into the particulars of the Inquiry, rendered still more suspicious from being connected with the assertion of pregnancy and delivery,) should have made no observation upon the degree in which that suspicion must be proportionably abated, when those assertions of pregnancy and delivery have been completely falsified and disproved; that they should make no remark upon the fact, that all the witnesses, (with the exception of Mrs. Lisle,) on whom they specifically rely, were every one of them brought forward by the principal informers, for the purpose of supporting the false statement of Lady Douglas; that they are the witnesses therefore

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of persons whom, after the complete falsification of their charge, I am justified in describing as conspirators who have been detected, in supporting the conspiracy by their own perjury. And surely where a conspiracy, to fix a charge upon an individual, has been plainly detected, the witnesses of those who have been so detected in that conspiracy—witnesses that are brought forward to support this false charge,—cannot stand otherwise than considerably affected in their credit, by their connection with those who are detected in that conspiracy. But instead of pointing out this circumstance, as calling, at least for some degree of caution and reserve, in considering the testimony of these witnesses, the Report, on the contrary, holds them up as worthy of particular credit, as witnesses, who, in the judgment of the Commissioners, cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias; whose veracity in that respect they have seen no ground to question; and who must be credited till they receive some decided contradiction.

Now, Sire, I feel the fullest confidence that I shall prove to your Majesty's most perfect satisfaction, that all of these witnesses (of course I still exclude Mrs. Lisle) are under the influence, and exhibit the symptoms, of the most unfavourable bias;—that their veracity is in every respect to be doubted; and that they cannot, by any candid and attentive mind, be deemed worthy of the least degree of credit upon this charge. Your Majesty will easily conceive, how great my surprise and astonishment must have been at this part of the Report. I am indeed a little at a loss to know, whether I understand the passage which I have cited from the Report. "The witnesses in the judgment of the Commissioners are not to be suspected of unfavourable bias, and their veracity *in that respect* they have seen no reason to question." What is meant by their having seen no reason to suspect their veracity *in that respect?* Do they mean, what the qualification seems to imply, that they have seen reason to question it in other respects? Is it meant to be insinuated that they saw reason to question their veracity, not in respect of an unfavourable bias, but of a bias in my favour? I cannot impute to them such an insinuation, because I am satisfied that the Commissioners would never have intended to insinuate any thing so directly contrary to the truth.

The witnesses specifically pointed out, as thus particularly

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deserving of credit, are W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. With respect to Mrs. Lisle, I trust your Majesty will permit me to make my observations upon her examination, as distinctly and separately as I possibly can from the others. Because, as I ever had, and have now as much as ever, the most perfect respect for Mrs. Lisle, I would avoid the possibility of having it imagined that such observations as I shall be under the absolute necessity of making, upon the other witnesses, could be intended in any degree to be applied to her.

With respect to Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, they have all lived in their places for a long time; they had lived with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales before he married, and were appointed by him to situations about me; Cole and Lloyd immediately upon my marriage, and Bidgood very shortly afterwards. I know not whether from this circumstance they may consider themselves as not owing that undivided duty and regard to me, which servants of my own appointment might possibly have felt; but if I knew nothing more of them than that they had consented to be voluntarily examined, for the purpose of supporting the statement of Lady Douglas on a charge so deeply affecting my honour, without communicating to me the fact of such examination, your Majesty would not, I am sure, be suprised to find, that I saw in that circumstance alone sufficient to raise *some* suspicions of an unfavourable bias. But when I find Cole particularly submitting to this secret and voluntary examination against me, no less than *four* times, and when I found during the pendency of this Inquiry before the Commissioners, that one of them, Bidgood, was so far connected, and in league, with Sir John and Lady Douglas, as to have communication with the latter, I thought I saw the proof of such decided hostility and confederacy against me, that I felt obliged to order the discontinuance of his attendance at my house till further orders. Of the real bias of their minds, however, with respect to me, your Majesty will be better able to judge from the consideration of their evidence.

The imputations which I collect to be considered as cast upon me, by these several witnesses, are too great familiarity and intimacy with several gentlemen,—Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, Captain Manby, and I know not whether the same are not meant to be extended to Lord Hood, Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore.

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With your Majesty's permission, therefore, I will examine the depositions of the witnesses, as they respect these several gentlemen, in their order, keeping the evidence, which is applicable to each case, as distinct from the others as I can.

And I will begin with those which respect Sir Sidney Smith, as he is the person first mentioned in the deposition of W. Cole.

W. Cole says, "that Sir Sidney Smith first visited at Montague House in 1802; that he observed that the Princess was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith. One day, he thinks in February, he (Cole) carried into the Blue Room to the Princess some sandwiches which she had ordered, and was surprised to see that Sir Sidney was there. He must have come in from the Park. If he had been let in from Blackheath he must have passed through the room in which he (Cole) was waiting. When he had left the sandwiches, he returned, after some time, into the room, and Sir Sidney Smith was sitting very close to the Princess on the sofa; he (Cole) looked at her Royal Highness, she caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which they were sitting together, they appeared both a little confused.

R. Bidgood says also, in his deposition on the 6th of June, (for he was examined twice) "that it was early in 1802 that he first observed Sir Sidney Smith come to Montague House. He used to stay very late at night; he had seen him early in the morning there; about ten or eleven o'clock. He was at Sir John Douglas's, and was in the habit as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas of dining, or having luncheon, or supping there every day. He saw Sir Sidney Smith one day in 1802 in the Blue Room, about 11 o'clock in the morning, which was full two hours before they expected ever to see company. He asked the servants why they did not let him know Sir Sidney Smith was there; the footman told him that they had let no person in. There was a private door to the Park, by which he might have come in if he had a key to it, and have got into the Blue Room without any of the servants perceiving him. And in his second deposition, taken on the 3d of July, he says he lived at Montague House when Sir Sidney came. Her (the Princess's) manner with him appeared very familiar; she appeared very attentive to him, but he did not suspect any thing further. Mrs. Lisle says, that the Princess at one time appeared to like Sir John and Lady Douglas. "I have seen Sir Sidney Smith there very late in the

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evening, but not alone with the Princess. I have no reason to suspect he had a key of the Park gate; I never heard of any body being found wandering about at Blackheath.

Fanny Lloyd does not mention Sir Sidney Smith in her deposition.

Upon the whole of this evidence then, which is the whole that respects Sir Sidney Smith, in any of these depositions (except some particular passages in Cole's evidence which are so important as to require a very particular and distinct statement); I would request your Majesty to understand that, with respect to the fact of Sir Sidney Smith's visiting frequently at Montague House, both with Sir John and Lady Douglas, and without them; with respect to his being frequently there, at luncheon, dinner, and supper; and staying with the rest of the company till twelve, one o'clock, or even sometimes later, if these are some of the facts "which must give occasion to unfavourable interpretations, and must be credited till they are contradicted," they are facts which I never can contradict, for they are perfectly true. And I trust it will imply the confession of no guilt, to admit that Sir Sidney Smith's conversation, his account of the various and extraordinary events, and heroic achievements in which he had been concerned, amused and interested me; and the circumstance of his living so much with his friends, Sir John and Lady Douglas, in my neighbourhood on Blackheath, gave the opportunity of his increasing his acquaintance with me.

It happened also that about this time I fitted up, as your Majesty may have observed, one of the rooms in my house after the fashion of a Turkish Tent. Sir Sidney furnished me with a pattern for it, in a drawing of the Tent of Murat Bey, which he had brought over with him from Egypt. And he taught me how to draw Egyptian Arabesques, which were necessary for the ornaments of the ceiling; this may have occasioned, while that room was fitting up, several visits, and possibly some, though I do not recollect them, as early in the morning as Mr. Bidgood mentions. I believe also that it has happened more than once, that, walking with my ladies in the Park, we have met Sir Sidney Smith, and that he has come in, with us, through the gate from the Park. My ladies may have gone up to take off their cloaks, or to dress, and have left me alone with him: and, at some one of these times, it may very possibly have happened

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that Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood may have seen him, when he has not come through the waiting-room, nor been let in by any of the footmen. But I solemnly declare to your Majesty that I have not the least idea or belief that he ever had a key of the gate into the Park, or that he ever entered in, or passed out, at that gate, except in company with myself and my ladies. As for the circumstance of my permitting him to be in the room alone with me; if suffering a man to be so alone is evidence of guilt, from whence the Commissioners can draw any unfavourable inference, I must leave them to draw it. For I cannot deny that it has happened, and happened frequently; not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with many, many others; gentlemen who have visited me; tradesmen who have come to receive my orders; masters whom I have had to instruct me, in painting, in music, in English, &c. that I have received them without any one being by. In short, I trust I am not confessing a crime, for unquestionably it is a truth, that I never had an idea that there was any thing wrong, or objectionable in thus seeing men, in the morning; and I confidently believe your Majesty will see nothing in it, from which any guilt can be inferred. I feel certain that there is nothing immoral in the thing itself; and I have always understood, that it was perfectly customary and usual for ladies of the first rank, and the first character, in the country, to receive the visits of gentlemen in a morning, though they might be themselves alone at the time. But, if in the opinions and fashions of this country, there should be more improriety ascribed to it, than what it ever entered into my mind to conceive, I hope your Majesty, and every candid mind, will make some allowance for the different notions which my foreign education and foreign habits may have given me.

But whatever character may belong to this practice, it is not a practice which commenced after my leaving Carlton House. While there, and from my first arrival in this country, I was accustomed, with the knowledge of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and without his ever having hinted to me the slightest disapprobation, to receive lessons from various masters, for my amusement, and improvement; I was attended by them frequently, from 12 o'clock till five in the afternoon;—Mr. Atwood for music, Mr. Geffadiere for English, Mr. Turnerelli for painting, Mr. Tutoye for imitating marble, Mr. Elwes for the

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harp; I saw them all alone; and, indeed, if I were to see them at all, I could do no otherwise than see them alone. Miss Garth, who was then sub-governess to my daughter, lived, certainly, under the same roof with me, but she could not be spared from her duty and attendance on my daughter. I desired her sometimes to come down stairs, and read to me, during the time when I drew or painted, but my Lord Cholmondeley informed me this could not be. I then requested that I might have one of my bed-chamber women to live constantly at Carlton House, that I might have her at call whenever I wanted her; but I was answered that it was not customary, that the attendants of the Royal Family should live with them in town; so that request could not be complied with. But, independent of this, I never conceived that it was offensive to the fashions and manners of the country, to receive gentlemen who might call upon me in a morning, whether I had or had not any one with me; and it never occurred to me to think that there was either impropriety or indecorum in it, at that time, nor in continuing the practice at Montague House. But this has been confined to morning visits, in no private apartments in my house, but in my drawing-room, where my ladies have at all times free access, and as they usually take their luncheon with me, except when they are engaged with visitors or pursuits of their own, it could but rarely occur that I could be left with any gentleman alone for any length of time, unless there were something, in the known and avowed business, which might occasion his waiting upon me, that would fully account for the circumstance.

I trust your Majesty will excuse the length at which I have dwelt upon this topic. I perceived, from the examinations, that it had been much inquired after, and I felt it necessary to represent it in its true light. And the candour of your Majesty's mind will, I am confident, suggest that those who are the least conscious of intending guilt, are the least suspicious of having it imputed to them; and therefore that they do not think it necessary to guard themselves at every turn, with witnesses to prove their innocence, fancying their character to be safe, as long as their conduct is innocent, and that guilt will be imputed to them from actions quite different.

The deposition however of Mr. Cole is not confined to my being alone with Sir Sidney Smith. The circumstances in which he

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observed us together he particularizes, and states his opinion. He introduces, indeed, the whole of the evidence by saying that I was too familiar with Sir Sidney Smith; but as I trust I am not yet so far degraded as to have my character decided by the opinion of Mr. Cole, I shall not comment upon that observation. He then proceeds to describe the scene which he observed on the day when he brought in the sandwiches, which I trust your Majesty did not fail to notice, *I had myself ordered to be brought in.* For there is an obvious insinuation that Sir Sidney must have come in through the Park, and that there was great impropriety in his being alone with me. And at least the witness's own story proves, whatever impropriety their might be, in this circumstance, that I was not conscious of it, nor meant to take advantage of his clandestine entry, from the Park, to conceal the fact from my servant's observation. For if I had had such consciousness, or such meaning, I never could have ordered sandwiches to have been brought in, or any other act to have been done, which must have brought myself under the notice of my servants, while I continued in a situation, which I thought improper, and wished to conceal. Any of the circumstances of this visit, to which this part of the deposition refers, my memory does not enable me in the least degree to particularize and recal. Mr. Cole may have seen me sitting on the same sofa with Sir Sidney Smith. Nay, I have no doubt he must have seen me, over and over again, not only with Sir Sidney Smith, but with other gentlemen, sitting upon the same sofa; and I trust your Majesty will feel it the hardest thing imaginable, that I should be called upon to account what corner of a sofa I sat upon four years ago, and how close Sir Sidney Smith was sitting to me. I can solemnly aver to your Majesty, that my conscience supplies me with the fullest means of confidently assuring you, that I never permitted Sir Sidney Smith to sit on any sofa with me in any manner, which, in my own judgment, was in the slightest degree offensive to the strictest propriety and decorum. In the judgment of many persons, perhaps, a Princess of Wales should at no time forget the elevation of her rank, or descend in any degree to the familiarities and intimacies of private life. Under any circumstances, this would be a hard condition to be annexed to her situation. Under the circumstances, in which it has been my misfortune to have lost the necessary support to the dignity and

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station of a Princess of Wales, to have assumed and maintained an unbending dignity would have been impossible, and if possible, could hardly have been expected from me.

After these observations, Sire, I must now request your Majesty's attention to those written declarations which are mentioned in the Report, and which I shall never be able sufficiently to thank your Majesty for having condescended, in compliance with my earnest request, to order to be transmitted to me. From observations upon those declarations themselves, as well as upon comparing them with the depositions made before the Commissioners, your Majesty will see the strongest reason for discrediting the testimony of W. Cole, as well as others of these witnesses, whose credit stands in the opinion of the Commissioners so unimpeachable. They supply important observations, even with respect to that part of Mr. Cole's evidence which I am now considering, though in no degree equal in importance to those which I shall afterwards have occasion to notice.

Your Majesty will please to observe, that there are no less than four different examinations, or declarations of Mr. Cole. They are dated on the 11th, 14th, and 30th of January, and on 23rd of February. In these four different declarations he twice mentions the circumstances of finding Sir Sidney Smith and myself on the sofa, and he mentions it not only in a different manner, at each of those times, but at both of them in a manner, which materially differs from his deposition before the Commissioners. In his declaration of the 11th of January he says, that he found us in so *familiar* a posture, as to *alarm* him very much, which he expressed by a *start back* and a look at the gentleman.

In that dated on 22d of February, however, (being asked, I suppose, as to that which he had dared to assert, of the familiar posture which had alarmed him so much,) he says, "there was *nothing particular* in our dress, *position* of legs, or arms, that was extraordinary; he thought it improper that a single gentleman should be sitting quite close to a married lady on the sofa, and from *that*, situation, and *former observation* he thought the thing improper. In this second account, therefore, your Majesty perceives he was obliged to bring in his former observation to help out the statement, in order to account for his having been so shocked with what he saw, as to express his alarm by "starting back." But unfortunately he accounts for it, as it seems to me

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at least, by the very circumstance which would have induced him to have been less surprised, and consequently less startled, by what he saw; for had his former observations been such as he insinuates, he would have been prepared the more to expect, and the less to be surprised at, what he pretends to have seen.

But your Majesty will observe, that in his deposition before the Commissioners (recollecting perhaps how awkwardly he had accounted for his starting in his former declarations,) he drops his starting altogether. Instead of looking at the gentleman only, he looked at us both, that I caught his eye, and saw that he noticed the manner in which we were sitting, and instead of his own starting, or any description of the manner in which he exhibited his own feelings, we are represented as both appearing a *little confused*. Our *confusion* is a circumstance, which during his four declarations, which he made before the appointment of the Commissioners, it never once occurred to him to recollect. And now he does recollect it, we appeared, he says, "a little confused!"—A little confused!—The Princess of Wales detected in a situation such as to shock and alarm her servant, and so detected as to be sensible of her detection, and so conscious of the impropriety of the situation as to exhibit symptoms of confusion; would not her confusion have been extreme? would it have been so little as to have slipped the memory of the witness who observed it, during his first four declarations, and at last to be recalled to his recollection in such a manner as to be represented in the faint and feeble way, in which he here describes it.

What weight your Majesty will ascribe to these differences in the accounts given by this witness I cannot pretend to say. But I am ready to confess that, probably, if there was nothing stronger of the same kind to be observed, in other parts of his testimony, the inference which would be drawn from them would depend very much upon the opinion previously entertained of the witness. To me, who know many parts of his testimony to be absolutely false, and all the colouring given to it to be wholly from his own wicked and malicious invention, it appears plain, that these differences in his representations, are the unsteady, awkward, shuffles and prevarications of falsehood. To those, if there are any such, who, from preconceived prejudices in his favour, or from any other circumstances, think that his veracity is free from all suspicion, satisfactory means of reconciling them

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may possibly occur. But before I have left Mr. Cole's examinations, your Majesty will find that they will have much more to account for, and much more to reconcile.

Mr. Cole's examination before the Commissioners goes on thus :—" A short time before this, one night about twelve o'clock, I saw a man go into the house from the Park, wrapt up in a great coat. I did not give any alarm, for the impression on my mind was, that it was not a thief." When I read this passage, Sire, I could hardly believe my eyes ; when I found such a fact left in this dark state, without any further explanation, or without a trace in the examination of any attempt to get it further explained. How he got this impression on his mind, that this was not a thief? Whom he believed it to be? What part of the house he saw him enter? If the drawing-room, or any part which I usually occupy, who was there at the time? Whether I was there? Whether alone, or with my ladies? or with other company? Whether he told any body of the circumstance at the time? or how long after? Whom he told? Whether any inquiries were made in consequence? These, and a thousand other questions, with a view to have penetrated into the mystery of this strange story, and to have tried the credit of this witness, would, I should have thought, have occurred to any one; but certainly must have occurred to persons so experienced, and so able in the examination of facts, and the trying of the credit of witnesses, as the two learned Lords unquestionably are, whom your Majesty took care to have introduced into this Commission. They never could have permitted these unexplained, and unsifted, hints and insinuations to have had the weight and effect of proof. —But, unfortunately for me, the duties, probably, of their respective situations prevented their attendance on the examination of this, and on the first examination of another most important witness, Mr. Robert Bidgood—and surely your Majesty will permit me here, without offence, to complain, that it is not a little hard, that, when your Majesty had shown your anxiety to have legal accuracy, and legal experience assist on this examination, the two most important witnesses, in whose examinations there is more matter for unfavourable interpretation than in all the rest put together, should have been examined without the benefit of this accuracy, and this experience. And I am the better justified in making this observation, if what has been suggested

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to me is correct; that, if it shall not be allowed the power of administering an oath under this warrant or commission is questionable, yet it can hardly be doubted that it is most questionable whether, according to the terms or meaning of the warrant or commission, as it constitutes no *quorum*, Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville could administer an oath, or act in the absence of the other lords; and if they could not, Mr. Cole's falsehood must be out of the reach of punishment.

Returning then from this digression, will your Majesty permit me to ask, whether I am to understand this fact, respecting the man in a great coat, to be one of those which must necessarily give occasion to the most unfavourable interpretations? which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? and which, if true, deserve the most serious consideration? The unfavourable interpretations which this fact may occasion, doubtless are, that this man was either Sir Sidney Smith, or some other *paramour*, who was admitted by me into my house in disguise at midnight, for the accomplishment of my wicked and adulterous purposes. And is it possible that your Majesty, is it possible that any candid mind can believe this fact, with the unfavourable interpretations which it occasions, on the relation of a servant, who, for all that appears, mentions it, for the first time, four years after the event took place; and who gives, himself, this picture of his honesty and fidelity to a master whom he has served so long; that he, whose nerves are of so moral a frame that he starts at seeing a single man sitting at mid-day, in an open drawing-room, on the same sofa with a married woman, permitted this disguised midnight adulterer to approach his master's bed without taking any notice, without making any alarm, without offering any interruption? And why? because (as he expressly states) he did not believe him to be a thief; and because (as he plainly insinuates) he did believe him to be an adulterer.

But what makes the manner in which the Commissioners suffered this fact to remain so unexplained the more extraordinary is this: Mr. Cole had, in his original declaration of the 11th of January, which was before the Commissioners, stated, "that one night, about twelve o'clock, he saw a person, wrapped up in a great coat, go across the Park into the gate at the Green House, and he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." In his declaration then, (when he was not upon oath,) he ventures to state,

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"that he verily believes it was Sir Sidney Smith." When he is upon his oath, in his depositions before the Commissioners, all that he ventures to swear is, "that he gave no alarm, because the impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief!!" And the difference is most important. "The impression upon his mind was, that it was not a thief!!" I believe him, and the impression upon my mind too is, that he *knew* it was not a thief—that he knew who it was—and that he knew it was no other than *my watchman*. What incident it is that he alludes to I cannot pretend to know. But this I know, that if it refers to any man with whose proceedings I have the least acquaintance or privity, it must have been my watchman; who, if he executes my orders, nightly, and often in the night, goes his rounds both inside and outside of my house. And this circumstance, which I should think would rather afford, to most minds, an inference that I was not preparing the way of planning facilities for secret midnight assignations, has, in my conscience, I believe, (if there is one word of truth in any part of this story, and the whole of it is not pure invention,) afforded the handle, and suggested the idea, to this honest, trusty man, this witness "who cannot be suspected of any unfavourable bias," "whose veracity, in that respect, the Commissioners saw no ground to question," and "who must be credited till he received decided contradiction," suggested, I say, the idea of the dark and vile insinuation contained in this part of his testimony.

Whether I am right or wrong, however, in this conjecture, this appears to be evident, that this examination is so left, that supposing an indictment for perjury or false swearing would lie against any witness examined by the Commissioners, and supposing this examination had been taken before the whole four,—if Mr. Cole were indicted for perjury, in respect to this part of his deposition, the proof that he did see the watchman would necessarily acquit him; would establish the truth of what he said, and rescue him from the punishment of perjury, though it would at the same time prove the falsehood and injustice of the inference and the insinuation, for the establishment of which alone the fact itself was sworn.

Mr. Cole chooses further to state, that he ascribes his removal from Montague House to London to the discovery he had made, and the notice he had taken of the improper situation of Sir Sidney Smith with me upon the sofa. To this I can oppose little

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more than my own esterlines, as my motives can only be known to myself.—But Mr. Cole was a very disagreeable servant to me; he was a man who, as I always conceived, had been educated above his station. He talked French, and was a musician, playing well on the violin. By these qualifications he had got admitted occasionally into better company, and this probably led to that forward and obtrusive conduct, which I thought extremely offensive and impertinent in a servant. I had long been extremely displeased with him; I had discovered that when I went out he would come into my drawing-room, and play on my harpsicord, or sit there reading my books;—and, in short, there was a forwardness which would have led to my absolutely discharging him a long time before, if I had not made a sort of rule to myself to forbear as long as possible from removing any servant who had been placed about me by his Royal Highness. Before Mr. Cole lived with the Prince he had lived with the Duke of Devonshire, and I had reason to believe that he carried to Devonshire House all the observations he could make at mine. For these various reasons, just before the Duke of Kent was about to go out of the kingdom, I requested his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who had been good enough to take the trouble of arranging many particulars in my establishment, to make the arrangements with respect to Mr. Cole; which was, to leave him in town, to wait upon me only when I went to Carlton House, and not to come to Montague House except when specially required. This arrangement, it seems, offended him. It certainly deprived him of some perquisites which he had when living at Blackheath; but upon the whole, as it left him so much more of his time at his own disposal, I should not have thought it had been much to his prejudice. It seems, however, that he did not like it; and I must leave this part of the case with this one observation more—That your Majesty, I trust, will hardly believe, that if Mr. Cole had, by any accident, discovered any improper conduct of mine towards Sir Sidney Smith, or any one else, the way which I should have taken to suppress his information, to close his mouth, would have been by immediately adopting an arrangement in my family, with regard to him, which was either prejudicial or disagreeable to him; or that the way to remove him from the opportunity and the temptation of betraying my secret, whether through levity or design, in the quarter where it would be most fatal to me that it should be

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known, was by making an arrangement which, while all his resentment and anger were fresh and warm about him, would place him frequently, nay, almost daily, at Carlton House; would place him precisely at that place, from whence, unquestionably, it must have been my interest to have kept him as far removed as possible.

There is little or nothing in the examinations of the other witnesses which is material for me to observe upon, as far as respects this part of the case. It appears from them, indeed, what I have had no difficulty in admitting, and have observed upon before, that Sir Sidney Smith was frequently at Montague House—that they have known him to be alone with me in an morning, but that they never knew him alone with me in the evening, or staying later than my company or the ladies—for what Mr. Stikeman says, with respect to his being alone with me in an evening, can only mean, and is only reconcileable with all the rest of the evidence on this part of the case, by its being understood to mean alone, in respect of other company, but not alone, in the absence of my ladies. The deposition, indeed, of my servant, S. Roberts, is thus far material upon that point, that it exhibits Mr. Cole, not less than three years ago, endeavouring to collect evidence upon these points to my prejudice. For your Majesty will find that he says, "I recollect Mr. Cole once asking me, I think three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family. I remember saying that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than other persons." He then proceeds—"I never knew Sir Sidney Smith stay later than the ladies; I cannot exactly say at what time he went, but I never remember his staying alone with the Princess."

As to what is contained in the written declarations of Mr. and Mrs. Lampert, the old servants of Sir John and Lady Douglas, (as from some circumstance or other respecting, I conceive, either their credit or their supposed importance,) the Commissioners have not thought proper to examine them upon their oaths, I do not imagine your Majesty would expect that I should take any notice of them. And as to what is deposed by my Lady Douglas, if your Majesty will observe the gross and horrid indecencies with which she ushers in and states my confessions to her of my asserted criminal intercourse with Sir Sidney Smith, your Majesty, I am confident, will not be surprised that I do not de-

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accede to any particular observations on her deposition.—One, and one only, observation will I make, which, however, could not have escaped your Majesty if I had omitted it—that your Majesty will have an excellent portraiture of the true female delicacy and purity of my Lady Douglas's mind and character, when you will observe that she seems wholly insensible to what a sink of infamy she degrades herself by her testimony against me. It is not only that it appears, from her statement, that she was contented to live in familiarity and apparent friendship with me after the confession which I made of my adultery, (for by the indulgence and liberality, as it is called, of modern manners, the company of adulteresses has ceased to reflect that discredit upon the characters of other women who admit them to their society, which the best interests of female virtue may perhaps require.) But she was content to live in familiarity with a woman who, if Lady Douglas's evidence of me is true, was a most low, vulgar, and profligate disgrace to her sex; the grossness of whose ideas and conversation would add infamy to the lowest, most vulgar, and most infamous prostitute. It is not, however, upon this circumstance that I rest assured no reliance can be placed on Lady Douglas's testimony; but after what is proved with regard to her evidence respecting my pregnancy and delivery in 1802, I am certain that any observations upon her testimony or her veracity must be flung away.

Your Majesty has therefore now before you the state of the charge against me, as far as it respects Sir Sidney Smith. And this is, as I understand the Report, one of the charges *which, with its unfavourable interpretations, must, in the opinion of the Commissioners, be credited till decidedly contradicted.*

As to the facts of frequent visiting on terms of great intimacy, as I have said before, they cannot be contradicted at all. How inferences and unfavourable interpretations are to be decidedly contradicted, I wish the Commissioners had been so good as to explain. I know of no possible way but by the declarations of myself and Sir Sidney Smith. Yet we being the supposed guilty parties, our denial, probably, will be thought of no great weight. As to my own, however, I tender it to your Majesty in the most solemn manner, and if I knew what fact it was that I ought to contradict, to clear my innocence, I would precisely address myself to that fact, as I am confident my conscience would enable me to do to any from which a criminal or unbecoming inference

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could be drawn. I am sure, however, your Majesty will feel for the humiliated and degraded situation to which this report has reduced your daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales, when you see her reduced to the necessity of either risking the danger that the most unfavourable interpretations should be credited; or else of stating, as I am now degraded to the necessity of stating, that not only no adulterous, or criminal, but no indecent or improper intercourse whatever, ever subsisted between Sir Sidney Smith and myself, or any thing which I should have objected that all the world should have seen. I say degraded to the necessity of stating it; for your Majesty must feel that a woman's character is degraded when it is put upon her to make such statement, at the peril of the contrary being credited unless she decidedly contradicts it. Sir Sidney Smith's absence from the country prevents my calling upon him to attest the same truth. But I trust when your Majesty shall find, as you will find, that my declaration, to a singular effect, with respect to the other gentlemen referred to in this Report, is confirmed by their denial, that your Majesty will think that in a case where nothing but my own word can be adduced, my own word alone may be opposed to whatever little remains of credit or weight may, after all the above observations, be supposed yet to belong to Mr. Cole, to his inferences, his insinuations, or his facts. Not indeed that I have yet finished my observations on Mr. Cole's credit; but I must reserve the remainder till I consider his evidence with respect to Mr. Lawrence, and till I have occasion to comment upon the testimony of Fanny Lloyd. Then, indeed, I shall be under the necessity of exhibiting to your Majesty these witnesses, Fanny Lloyd and Mr. Cole, (both of whom are represented as so unbiassed, and so credible,) in flat, decisive, and irreconcilable contradiction to each other.

The next person with whom my improper intimacy is insinuated, is Mr. Lawrence, the painter.

The principal witness on this charge is also Mr. Cole; Mr. R. Bidgood says nothing about him; Fanny Lloyd says nothing about him; and all that Mrs. Lisle says is perfectly true, and I am neither able, nor feel interested, to contradict it. "That she remembers my sitting to Mr. Lawrence for my picture at Blackheath, and in London; that she has left me at his house in town with him, but she thinks Mrs. Fitzgerald was with us; and that she thinks I sat alone with him at Blackheath." But Mr. Cole

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speaks of Mr. Lawrence in a manner that calls for particular observation. He says, "Mr. Lawrence, the painter, used to go to Montague House about the latter end of 1801, when he was painting the Princess, and he has slept in the house two or three nights together. I have often seen him alone with the Princess at 11 or 12 o'clock at night. He has been there as late as one and two o'clock in the morning. One night I saw *him with the Princess in the Blue Room, after the ladies had retired. Some time afterwards, when I supposed he had gone to his room, I went to see that all was safe, and I found the Blue Room door locked, and heard a whispering in it, and I went away.*" Here, again, your Majesty observes that Mr. Cole deals his deadliest blows against my character by insinuation. And here, again, his insinuation is left unsifted and unexplained. I here understand him to insinuate, that though he supposed Mr. Lawrence to have gone to his room, he was still where he had said he last left him; and that the locked door prevented him from seeing me and Mr. Lawrence alone together, whose whispering, however, he notwithstanding overheard.

Before, Sire, I come to my own explanation of the fact of Mr. Lawrence's sleeping at Montague House, I must again refer to Mr. Cole's original declarations. I must again examine Mr. Cole, against Mr. Cole, which I cannot help lamenting it does not seem to have occurred to others to have done; as I am persuaded, if it had, his prevarications and his falsehood could never have escaped them. They would then have been able to have traced, as your Majesty will now do, through my observations, by what degrees he hardened himself up to the infamy (for I can use no other expression) of stating this fact, by which he means to insinuate that he heard me and Mr. Lawrence, locked up in this Blue Room, whispering together, and alone. I am sorry to be obliged to drag your Majesty through so long a detail; but I am confident your Majesty's goodness, and love of justice, will excuse it, as it is essential to the vindication of my character, as well as to the illustration of Mr. Cole's.

Mr. Cole's examination, as contained in his first written declaration, of the 11th of January, has nothing of this. I mean not to say that it has nothing concerning Mr. Lawrence, for it has much which is calculated to occasion unfavourable interpretations, and given with a view to that object. But that circumstance, as I

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submit to your Majesty, increases the weight of my observation. Had there been nothing in his first declaration about Mr. Lawrence at all, it might have been imagined that perhaps Mr. Lawrence escaped his recollection altogether, or that his declaration had been solely directed to other persons; but as it does contain observations respecting Mr. Lawrence, but nothing of a locked door, or the whispering within it,—how he happened at that time not to recollect, or if he recollected, not to mention so very striking and remarkable a circumstance, is not, I should imagine, very satisfactorily to be explained. His statement in that first declaration stands thus: "In 1801, Lawrence, the painter, was at Montague House for four or five days at a time, painting the Princess's picture. That he was frequently alone late in the night with the Princess, and much suspicion was entertained of him." Mr. Cole's next declaration, at least the next which appears among the written declarations, was taken on the 14th of January; it does not mention Mr. Lawrence's name, but it has this passage: "When Mr. Cole found the drawing-room, which led to the staircase to the Princess's apartments, locked, (which, your Majesty knows, is the same which the witnesses call the Blue Room,) he does not know whether any person was with her; but it appeared odd to him, as he had formed some suspicions." The striking and important observation on this passage is, that when he first talks of the door of the drawing-room being locked, so far from his mentioning any thing of *whispering being overheard*, he expressly says that he did not know that any body was with me. The passage is likewise deserving your Majesty's most serious consideration on another ground; for it is one of those which shows that Mr. Cole, though we have four separate declarations made by him, has certainly made other statements which have not been transmitted to your Majesty; for it evidently refers to something which he had said before of having found the drawing-room door locked; and no trace of such a statement is discoverable in the previous examination of Mr. Cole, as I have received it; and I have no doubt that, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, I have at length been furnished with the whole. I don't know, indeed, that it should be matter of complaint from me that your Majesty has not been furnished with all the statements of Mr. Cole, because, from the sample I see of them, I cannot suppose that any of them could have furnished any thing

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favourable to me, except indeed that they might have furnished me with fresh means of contradicting him by himself.

But your Majesty will see that there have been other statements not communicated; a circumstance of which both your Majesty and I have reason to complain. But it may be out of its place further to notice that fact at present.

To return therefore to Mr. Cole:—in his third declaration, dated the 30th of January, there is not a word about Mr. Lawrence. In his fourth and last, which is dated on the 23d of February, he says "the person who was alone with the lady at late hours of the night (twelve and one o'clock), and whom he left sitting up after he went to bed, was Mr. Lawrence, which happened two different nights." Here is likewise another trace of a former statement which is not given; for no such person is mentioned before in any that I have been furnished with.

Your Majesty then here observes that, after having given evidence in two of his declarations, respecting Mr. Lawrence by name, in which he mentions nothing of locked doors, and after having, in another declaration, given an account of a locked door, but expressly stated that he knew not whether any one was with me within it, and said nothing about whispering being overheard, but, impliedly, at least, negatived it;—in the deposition before the Commissioners, he puts all these things together, and has the hardihood to add to them that remarkable circumstance, which could not have escaped his recollection at the first, if it had been true, "of his having on the same night in which he found me and Mr. Lawrence alone, after the ladies were gone to bed, come again to the room when he thought Mr. Lawrence must have been retired, and found the door locked and heard the whispering;" and then again he gives another instance of his honesty, and upon the same principle on which he took no notice of the man in the great coat, he finds the door locked, hears the whispering, and then he silently and contentedly retires.

And this witness, who thus not only varies in his testimony, but contradicts himself in such important particulars, is one of those who cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias, and whose veracity is not to be questioned, and whose evidence must be credited till decidedly contradicted.

These observations might probably be deemed sufficient, upon Mr. Cole's deposition, as far as it respects Mr. Lawrence; but I

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cannot be satisfied without explaining to your Majesty, all the truth, and the particulars, respecting Mr. Lawrence, which I recollect.

What I recollect then is as follows: He began a large picture of me, and of my daughter, towards the latter end of the year 1800, or the beginning of 1801. Miss Garth and Miss Hayman were in the house with me at the time. The picture was painted at Montague House. Mr. Lawrence mentioned to Miss Hayman his wish to be permitted to remain some few nights in the house, that by rising early he might begin painting on the picture, before the Princess Charlotte (whose residence being at that time at Shooter's Hill was enabled to come early,) or myself, came to sit. It was a similar request to that which had been made by Sir William Beechy, when he painted my picture. And I was sensible of no impropriety when I granted the request to either of them. Mr. Lawrence occupied the same room which had been occupied by Sir William Beechy;—it was at the other end of the house from my apartment.

At that time Mr. Lawrence did not dine with me; his dinner was served in his own room.—After dinner he came down to the room where I and my ladies generally sat in an evening—sometimes there was music, in which he joined, and sometimes he read poetry. Parts of Shakspeare's plays I particularly remember, from his reading them very well; and sometimes he played chess with me. It frequently may have happened that it was one or two o'clock before I dismissed Mr. Lawrence and my ladies. They, together with Mr. Lawrence, went out of the same door, up the same staircase, and at the same time. According to my own recollection I should have said that in no one instance, they had left Mr. Lawrence behind them, alone with me.—But I suppose it did happen once for a short time, since Mr. Lawrence so recollects it, as your Majesty will perceive from his deposition, which I annex.* He staid in my house two or three nights

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* Mr. Lawrence, (now Sir Thomas Lawrence, portrait painter to the King) after quoting the portion of Cole's deposition above referred to, swore, that, although he had slept several nights at Montague House, and had remained in the presence of her Royal Highness as late as twelve, one, or two o'clock, he was never alone in her presence, to the best of his recollection and belief, except in one single instance, and that for a short time, when he remained

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together; but how many nights in the whole, I do not recollect. The picture left my house by April, 1801, and Mr. Lawrence never slept in my house afterwards. That picture now belongs to Lady Townsend. He has since completed another picture of me; and about a year and a half ago, he began another, which remains at present unfinished. I believe it is near a twelvemonth since I last sat to him.

Mr. Lawrence lives upon a footing of the greatest intimacy with the neighbouring families of Mr. Lock and Mr. Angerstein; and I have asked him sometimes to dine with me to meet them. While I was sitting to him at my own house, I have no doubt I must often have sat to him alone; as the necessity for the precaution of having an attendant as a witness to protect my honour from suspicion, certainly never occurred to me. And upon the same principle, I do not doubt that I may have sometimes con-

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with her Royal Highness in the Blue Room, to answer some question which had been put to him, at the moment he was about to retire, together with the ladies in waiting, who had been previously present as well as himself, and though he could not recollect the particulars of the conversation which then took place, he most solemnly swore, that nothing passed between her Royal Highness and himself, which he could have had the least objection for all the world to have seen and heard. Mr. Lawrence further swore, that he was never alone in the presence of her Royal Highness in any other place, or in any other way, than as here described; and that neither upon the occasion last mentioned, nor upon any other, was he ever in the presence of her Royal Highness, in any room whatever, with the door locked, bolted, or fastened, otherwise than in the common or usual manner, which left it in the power of any person on the outside of the door to open it.

This deposition was sworn before Mr. Leach, at the public office Hatton Garden, on the 24th of September 1806. It is worthy of particular remark, that the Prince of Wales must have placed implicit confidence in Mr. Lawrence's oath, and therefore have totally disbelieved that of Cole's; otherwise, when his Royal Highness subsequently became Regent, he would not have conferred upon Mr. Lawrence the honour of knighthood; nor would he now retain him as his portrait painter. This fact is highly important to the case of her late Majesty; and as highly honourable to the feelings and justice of the King, who, had he really entertained any strong degree of vindictiveness against his illustrious consort, would, most assuredly, have acted in a very different manner towards a person of whom such serious hints had been given, and that, too, upon oath, relative to his conduct with the Princess of Wales.

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tinued in conversation with him after he had finished painting. But when sitting in his own house, I have always been attended with one of my ladies.—And indeed nothing in the examinations state the contrary. One part of Mrs. Lisle's examination seems as if she had a question put to her, upon the supposition that I had been left alone with Mr. Lawrence at his own house; to which she answers, that she indeed had left me there, but that she *thinks* she left Mrs. Fitzgerald with me.

If an inference of an unfavourable nature could have been drawn from my having been left there alone,—was it, Sire, taking all that care which might be wished, to guard against such an inference on the part of the Commissioners, when they omitted to send for Mrs. Fitzgerald to ascertain what Mrs. Lisle may have left in doubt. The Commissioners, I give them the fullest credit, were satisfied, that Mrs. Lisle thought correctly upon this fact, and that Mrs. Fitzgerald, if she had been sent for again, would so have proved it, and therefore that it would have been troubling her to no purpose. But this it is, of which I conceive myself to have most reason to complain, that the examinations in several instances have not been followed up so as to remove unfavourable impressions.

I cannot but feel satisfied that the Commissioners would have been glad to have been warranted in negativing all criminality; and all suspicion on this part of the charge, as completely and honourably as they have done on the principal charges of pregnancy and delivery. They traced that part of the charge with ability, sagacity, diligence, and perseverance; and the result was complete satisfaction of my innocence; complete detection of the falsehood of my accusers. Encouraged by their success in that part of their inquiry, I lament that they did not, (as they thought proper to enter into the other part of it at all,) with similar industry pursue it. If they had, I am confident they would have pursued it with the same success, but though they had convicted Sir John and Lady Douglas of falsehood, they seem to have thought it *impossible to suspect* of the same falsehood any other of the witnesses, though produced by Sir John and Lady Douglas. The most obvious means therefore of trying their credit, by comparing their evidence with what they had said before, seems to me to have been omitted. Many facts are left upon surmise only and insinuation; obvious means of getting farther information on

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doubtful and suspicious circumstances are not resorted to; and, as if the important matter of the inquiry (on which a satisfactory conclusion had been formed) was all that required any very attentive or accurate consideration; the remainder of it was pursued in a manner which, as it seems to me, can only be accounted for by the pressure of what may have been deemed more important duties —and of this I should have made but little complaint, if this inquiry, where it is imperfect, had not been followed by a Report, which the most accurate only could have justified, and which such an accurate inquiry, I am confident, never could have produced.

If any credit was given to Mr. Cole's story of the locked door, and the whispering; and to Mr. Lawrence having been left with me so frequently of a night when my ladies had left us, why were not all my ladies examined? Why were not all my servants examined as to their knowledge of that fact? And if they had been so examined, and had contradicted the fact so sworn to by Mr. Cole, as they must have done, had they been examined to it; that alone would have been sufficient to have removed his name from the list of unsuspected and unquestionable witnesses, and relieved me from much of the suspicion, which his evidence, till it was examined, was calculated to have raised in your Majesty's mind.—And to close this statement, and these observations in addition to them,—I most solemnly assert to your Majesty, that Mr. Lawrence, neither at his own house, nor at mine, nor any where else, ever was for one moment by night or by day, in the same room with me when the door of it was locked; that he never was in my company of an evening alone, except the momentary conversation which Mr. Lawrence speaks to, may be thought an exception; and that nothing ever passed between him and me which all the world might not have witnessed. And, Sire, I have subjoined a deposition to the same effect from Mr. Lawrence.

To satisfy myself, therefore, and your Majesty, I have shown, I trust, by unanswerable observations and arguments, that there is no colour for crediting Mr. Cole, or, consequently, any part of this charge, which rests solely on his evidence. But to satisfy the requisition of the Commissioners, I have brought my pride to submit, (though not without great pain, I can assure your Majesty) to add the only contradictions which I conceive can be given, those of Mr. Lawrence and myself.

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The next person with whom these examinations charge my improper familiarity, and with regard to which the Report represents the evidence as particularly strong, is Captain Manby. With respect to him, Mr. Cole's examination is silent.—But the evidence, on which the Commissioners rely on this part of the case, is Mr. Bidgood's, Miss Fanny Lloyd's, and Mrs. Lisle's. —It respects my conduct at three different places; at Montague House, Southend, and at Ramsgate. I shall preserve the facts and my observations more distinct, if I consider the evidence, as applicable to these three places, separately, and in its order; and I prefer this mode of treating it, as it will enable me to consider the evidence of Mrs. Lisle in the first place, and consequently put it out of the reach of the harsher observations, which I may be under the necessity of making, upon the testimony of the other two. For though Mrs. Lisle, indeed, speaks to having seen Captain Manby at East Cliff, in August, 1803, to the best of her remembrance it was only once. She speaks to his meeting her at Deal, in the same season; that he landed there with some boys whom I took on charity, and who were under his care; yet she speaks of nothing there that can require a single observation from me.—The material parts of her evidence respects her seeing him at Blackheath, the Christmas before she had seen him at East Cliff. She says, it was the Christmas after Mr. Austin's child came, consequently the Christmas 1802-3.—He used to come to dine there, she says—he always went away in her presence, and she had no reason to think he staid after the ladies retired. He lodged on the Heath at the time, his ship was fitting up at Deptford; he came to dinner three or four times a week or more. —She supposes he might be alone with the Princess, but that she was in the habit of seeing gentlemen and tradesmen without her being present. She (Mrs. Lisle) has seen him at luncheon and dinner both. The boys (two boys) came with him two or three times, but not to dinner. Captain Manby always sat next the Princess at dinner. The constant company were Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and herself—all retired with the Princess, and sat in the same room. Captain Manby generally retired about eleven; and sat with us all till then. Captain Manby and the Princess used, when we were together, to be speaking together separately, conversing separately, but not in a room alone. He was a person with whom the Princess appeared to have greater

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pleasure in talking than with her ladies. Her Royal Highness behaved to him ONLY *as any woman would who likes flirting. She (Mrs. Lisle) would not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly, who behaved as her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby. She can't say whether the Princess was attached to Captain Manby, only that it was a flirting conduct.* She never saw any gallantries, as kissing her hand, or the like."

I have cautiously stated the whole of Mrs. Lisle's evidence upon this part of the case; and I am sure your Majesty in reading it, will not fail to keep the facts, which Mrs. Lisle speaks to, separate from the opinion, or judgment, which she forms upon them. I mean not to speak disrespectfully, or slightingly, of Mrs. Lisle's opinion; or express myself as in any degree indifferent to it. But whatever there was, which she observed in my conduct, that did not become a married woman, that "was ONLY like a woman who liked flirting," and "ONLY a flirting conduct," I am convinced your Majesty must be satisfied that it must have been far distant from affording any evidence of crime, of vice, or of indecency, as it passed openly in the company of my ladies, of whom Mrs. Lisle herself was one.

The facts she states are, that Captain Manby came very frequently to my house; that he dined there three or four times a week in the latter end of the year 1802; that he sat next to me at dinner; and that my conversation after dinner, in the evening, used to be with Captain Manby, separate from my ladies. These are the facts; and it is upon them that my character, I will not say, is to be taken away, but is to be *affected.*

Captain Manby had, in the autumn of the same year, been introduced to me by Lady Townsend, when I was upon a visit to her at Rainham. I think he came there only the day before I left it. He was a naval officer, as I understood, and as I still believe, of great merit. What little expense, in the way of charity, I am able to afford, I am best pleased to dedicate to the education of the children of poor, but honest persons; and I most generally bring them up to the service of the navy. I had at that time two boys at school, whom I thought of an age fit to be put to sea. I desired Lady Townsend to prevail upon Captain Manby to take them. He consented to it, and of course I was obliged to him.

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About this time, or shortly afterwards, he was appointed to the Africaine, a ship which was fitting up at Deptford. To be near his ship, as I understood and believe, he took lodgings at Blackheath; and as to the mere fact of his being so frequently at my house,—his intimacy and friendship with Lord and Lady Townsend, which of itself was assurance to me of his respectability and character, my pleasure in showing any respect to them, by notice and attention to a friend of theirs,—his undertaking the care of my charity boys—and his accidental residence at Blackheath, will, I should trust, not unreasonably account for it. I have a similar account likewise to give of paying for the linen furniture with which his cabin was furnished. Wishing to make him some return for his trouble with the boys, I desired that I might choose the pattern of his furniture. I not only chose it, but had it sent to him, and paid the bill; finding, however, that it did not come to more than about twenty pounds, I thought it a shabby present, and therefore added some trifling present of plate. So I have frequently done, and I hope without offence may be permitted to do again to any captain on whom I impose such trouble. Sir Samuel Hood has now two of my charity boys with him, and I have presented him with a silver epergne. I should be ashamed to mention such things, but your Majesty perceives that they are made the subject of Inquiry from Mrs. Fitzgerald and Mr. Stikeman, and I was desirous that they should not appear to be particular in the case of Captain Manby.

But to return to Mrs. Lisle's examination. Mrs. Lisle says that Captain Manby, when he dined with me, sat next to me at dinner. Before any inference is drawn from that fact, I am sure your Majesty will observe that, in the next line of Mrs. Lisle's examination, she says, "that the constant company was Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and herself, Mrs. Lisle." The only gentleman, the only person of the whole party who was not of my own family, was Captain Manby; and his sitting next to me, under such circumstances, I should apprehend, could not possibly afford any inference of any kind. In the evening we were never alone. The whole company sat together; nay, even as to his being with me alone of a morning, Mrs. Lisle seems to know nothing of the fact but from a conjecture, founded upon her knowledge of my known usual habit with respect to seeing gentlemen who might call upon me. And the very foundation of her conjecture demonstrates that

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this circumstance can be no evidence of any thing particular with regard to Captain Manby.

As to my conversing with Captain Manby separately, I do not understand Mrs. Lisle as meaning to speak to the state of the conversation uninterruptedly during the whole of any of the several evenings when Captain Manby was with me; if I did so understand her, I should certainly most confidently assert that she was not correct. That in the course of the evening, as the ladies were working, reading, or otherwise amusing themselves, the conversation was sometimes more and sometimes less general; and that they sometimes took more, sometimes less part in it;—that frequently it was between Captain Manby and myself alone; and that, when we were together, we two might frequently be the only persons not otherwise engaged, and therefore be justly said to be speaking together separately. Besides, Captain Manby has been round the world with Captain Vancouvre. I have looked over prints in books of voyages with him; he has explained them to me; the ladies may or may not have been looking over them at the same time; they may have been engaged with their own amusements. Here again we may be said to have been conversing separately, and consequently that Mrs. Lisle, in this sense, is perfectly justified in saying that "I used to converse separately with Captain Manby," I have not the least difficulty in admitting. But have I not again reason to complain that this expression of Mrs. Lisle's was not more sifted, but left in a manner calculated to raise an impression that this separate conversation was studiously sought for, was constant, uniform, and uninterrupted, though it by no means asserts any such thing? But whether I used *always* so to converse with him, or *generally*, or only *sometimes*, or for what proportion of the evening I used to be so engaged, is left unasked and unexplained. Have I not likewise just reason to complain, that though Mrs. Lisle states that Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald were always of the party, they are not both examined to these circumstances? But Miss Fitzgerald is not examined at all; and Mrs. Fitzgerald, though examined, and examined too with respect to Captain Manby, does not appear to have had a single question put to her with respect to any thing which passed concerning him at Montague House. May I not therefore complain that the examination, leaving the generality of Mrs. Lisle's expression unexplained by herself, and the scenes to which it relates unexamined

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into, by calling the other persons who were present, is leaving it precisely in that state which is better calculated to raise a suspicion than to ascertain the truth?

But I am persuaded that the unfavourable impression which is most likely to be made by Mrs. Lisle's examination, is not by her evidence to the facts, but by her opinion upon them. "I appeared," she says, "to like the conversation of Captain Manby better than that of my ladies. I behaved to him *only* as a woman who likes flirting; my conduct was unbecoming a married woman;" she cannot say whether I was attached to Captain Manby or not; it was "*only* a flirting conduct." Now, Sire, I must here again most seriously complain that the Commissioners should have called for, or received, and much more reported, in this manner, the *opinion* and *judgment* of Mrs. Lisle upon my conduct. Your Majesty's warrant purports to authorize them to collect the evidence, and not the opinions of others, and to report it, with their own judgment surely, and not Mrs. Lisle's. Mrs. Lisle's judgment was formed upon those facts which she stated to the Commissioners, or upon other facts. If upon those stated, the Commissioners, and your Majesty, are as well able to form the judgment upon them as she was. If upon other facts, the Commissioners should have heard what those other facts were, and upon them have formed and reported their judgment.

I am aware, indeed, that if I were to argue that the facts which Mrs. Lisle states affords the explanation of what she means by "only flirting conduct," and by "behaviour unbecoming a married woman;" namely, that it consisted in having the same gentleman to dine with me three or four times a week;—letting him sit next me at dinner, when there were no other strangers in company;—conversing with him separately, and appearing to prefer his conversation to that of the ladies,—it would be observed, probably, that this was not all; that there was always a certain indescribable something in *manner*, which gave the character to conduct, and must have entered mainly into such a judgment as Mrs. Lisle has here pronounced.

To a certain extent I should be obliged to agree to this; but if I am to have any prejudice from this observation, if it is to give a weight and authority to Mrs. Lisle's judgment, let me have the advantage of it also. If it justifies the conclusion that Mrs. Lisle's censure upon my conduct is right, it requires also that

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equal credit should be given to the qualification, the limit, and the restriction, which she herself puts upon that censure.

Mrs. Lisle, seeing all the facts which she relates, and observing much of manner, which perhaps she could not describe, limits the expression, "flirting conduct," by calling it "only flirting;" and says, (upon having the question asked her, no doubt, whether, from the whole she could collect, that I was attached to Captain Manby,) "she could not say whether I was attached to him; my conduct was not of a nature that proved any attachment to him; it was only a flirting conduct." Unjust therefore, as I think it, that any such question should have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or that her judgment should have been taken at all, yet what I fear from it, as pressing with peculiar hardship upon me, is, that though it is Mrs. Lisle's final, and ultimate, judgment upon the whole of my conduct, yet, when delivered to the Commissioners and your Majesty, it becomes evidence, which, connected with all the facts on which Mrs. Lisle had formed it, may lead to still further and more unfavourable conclusions in the minds of those who are afterwards to judge upon it;—that her judgment will be the foundation of other judgments against me, much severer than her own; and that though she evidently limits her opinion, and by saying "ONLY flirting," impliedly negatives it as affording any indication of any thing more improper, while she proceeds *expressly* to negative it as affording any proof of attachment; yet it may be thought by others to justify their considering it as a species of conduct which showed an attachment to the man to whom it was addressed; which, in a married woman, was criminal and wrong.

What Mrs. Lisle exactly means by *only flirting* conduct—what degree of impropriety of conduct she would describe by it, it is extremely difficult, with any precision, to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from that want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays them into, conduct themselves in a manner which a woman of a graver character, of more reserved disposition, but not with one particle of superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give

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her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say, in that opinion, was flirting?

But whatever sense Mrs. Lisle annexes to the word "flirting," it is evident, as I said before, that she cannot mean any thing criminal, vicious, or indecent, or any thing with the least shade of deeper impropriety than what is necessarily expressed in the word "flirting." She never would have added, as she does in both instances, that it was "only flirting," if she had thought it of a quality to be recorded in a formal Report, among circumstances which *must* occasion the *most* unfavourable interpretation, and which deserved the most serious consideration of your Majesty. To use it so, I am sure your Majesty must see is to press it far beyond the meaning which she would assign to it herself.

And as I have admitted that there may be much indescribable in the manner of doing any thing, so it must be admitted to me that there is much indescribable, and most material also, in the manner of saying any thing, and in the accent with which it is said. The whole context serves much to explain it; and if it is in answer to a question, the manner and the accent in which it is asked are also most material to understand the precise meaning which the expressions are intended to convey; and I must lament, therefore, extremely, if my character is to be affected by the opinion of any witness, that the question by which that opinion was drawn from her were not given too, as well as her answers; and if this Inquiry had been prosecuted before your Majesty's Privy Council, the more solemn and usual course of proceeding there would, as I am informed, have furnished, or enabled me to furnish, your Majesty with the questions as well as the answers.

Mrs. Lisle, it should also be observed, was, at the time of her examination, under the severe oppression of having, but a few days before, heard of the death of her daughter,—a daughter who had been happily married, and who had lived happily with her husband, in mutual attachment, till her death. The very circumstance of her then situation would naturally give a graver and severer cast to her opinions. When the question was proposed to her, as a general question, (and I presume it must have been so put to her,) whether my conduct was such as would become a married woman, possibly her own daughter's conduct, and what she

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would have expected of her, might present itself to her mind. And I confidently submit to your Majesty's better judgment, that such a general question ought not, in a fair and candid consideration of my case, to have been put to Mrs. Lisle, or any other woman. For as to my conduct being, or not being, becoming a married woman, the same conduct, or any thing like it, which may occur in my case, could not occur in the case of a married woman who was not living in my unfortunate situation; or if it did occur, it must occur under circumstances which must give it, and most deservedly, a very different character. A married woman, living well and happily with her husband, could not be frequently having one gentleman at her table, with no other company but ladies of her family;—she could not be spending her evenings frequently in the same society, and separately conversing with that gentleman, unless either with the privity and consent of her husband, or by taking advantage, with some management, of his ignorance and his absence;—if it was with his privity and consent, that very circumstance alone would unquestionably alter the character of such conduct;—if with management she avoided his knowledge, that very management would betray a bad motive. The cases therefore are not parallel;—the illustration is not just;—and the question which called for such an answer from Mrs. Lisle ought not, in candour and fairness, to have been put.

I entreat your Majesty, however, not to misunderstand me;—I should be ashamed indeed to be suspected of pleading any peculiar or unfortunate circumstance, in my situation, as an excuse for any criminal or indecent act. With respect to such acts, most unquestionably, such circumstances can make no difference,—and afford no excuse. They must bear their own character of disgrace and infamy, under all circumstances. But there are acts which are unbecoming a married woman, which ought to be avoided by her, from an apprehension lest they should render her husband uneasy, not because they might give him any reason to distrust her chastity, her virtue, or her morals, but because they might wound his feelings, by indicating a preference to the society of another man over his, in a case where she had the option of both. But surely, as to such acts, they must necessarily bear a very different character, and receive a very different construction in a case where, unhappily, there can be no such apprehension, and where there is

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no such option. I must therefore be excused for dwelling so much upon this part of this case; and I am sure your Majesty will feel me warranted in saying, what I say with a confidence exactly proportioned to the respectability of Mrs. Lisle's character, that, whatever she meant by any of these expressions, she could not, by possibility, have meant to describe conduct which, to her mind, afforded evidence of crime, vice, or indecency. If she had, her regard to her own character, her own delicacy, her own honourable and virtuous feelings, would, in less than the two years which have since elapsed, have found some excuse for separating herself from that intimate connection which, by her situation in my household, subsists between us. She would not have remained exposed to the repetition of so gross an offence, and insult, to a modest, virtuous, and delicate woman, as that of being made, night by night, witness to scenes, openly acted in her presence, offensive to virtue and decorum.

If your Majesty thinks I have dwelt too long, and tediously, on this part of the case, I entreat your Majesty to think what I must feel upon it. I feel it a great hardship, as I have frequently stated, that under the cover of a grave charge of High Treason, the proprieties and decencies of my private conduct and behaviour have been made the subject, as I believe so unprecedentedly, of a formal investigation upon oath. And that, in consequence of it, I may at this moment be exposed to the danger of forfeiting your Majesty's good opinion, and being degraded and disgraced, in reputation, through the country, because what Mrs. Lisle has said of my conduct,—that it was "only that of a woman who liked flirting," has become recorded in the Report on this formal Inquiry, made into matters of grave crimes, and of essential importance to the state.

Let me conjure your Majesty, over and over again, before you suffer this circumstance to prejudice me in your opinion, not only to weigh all the circumstances I have stated, but to look round the first ranks of female virtue in this country, and see how many women there are of most unimpeached reputation, of most unsullied and unsuspected honour, character and virtue, whose conduct, though living happily with their husbands, if submitted to the judgment of persons of a severer cast of mind, especially if saddened at the moment by calamity, might be styled to be "flirting." I would not however be understood as intending to represent Mrs.

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Lisle's judgment as being likely to be marked with any improper austerity, and therefore I am certain she must either have had no idea that the expressions she has used, in the manner which she used them, were capable of being understood in so serious a light as to be referred to amongst circumstances deserving the most serious consideration, and which must occasion most unfavourable interpretations; or she must, by the imposing novelty of her situation, in private examination before four such grave characters, have been surprised into the use of expressions which, with a better opportunity of weighing them, she would either not have used at all, or have accompanied with still more of qualification than that which she has, however, in some degree, as it is, annexed to them.

But my great complaint is the having, not particularly Mrs. Lisle's opinion, but any person's opinion set up, as it were, in judgment against the propriety of my private conduct. How would it be endured that the judgment of one man should be asked, and recorded in a solemn Report, against the conduct of another, either with respect to his behaviour to his children, or to his wife, or to any other relative? How would it be endured in general, and I trust that my case ought not, in this respect, to form an exception, that one woman should, in a similar manner, be placed in judgment upon the conduct of another? And that judgment be reported, where her character was of most importance to her, as amongst things which must be credited till decidedly contradicted? Let every one put these questions home to their own breasts, and before they impute blame to me for protesting against the fairness and justice of this procedure, ask how they would feel upon it if it were their own case?

But perhaps they cannot bring their imaginations to conceive that it could ever become their own case. A few months ago I could not have believed that it would have been mine.

But the just ground of my complaint may perhaps be more easily appreciated and felt by supposing a more familiar, but an analogous case. The high treason with which I was charged, was supposed to be committed in the foul crime of adultery. What would be the impression of your Majesty, what would be the impression upon the mind of any one acquainted with the excellent laws of your Majesty's kingdom, and the admirable administration of them, if upon a commission of this kind, secretly to inquire

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into the conduct of any man upon a charge of High Treason against the state, the Commissioners should not only proceed to inquire whether, in the judgment of the witness, the conduct of the accused was such as became a loyal subject; but when the result of their inquiry obliged them to report directly against the charge of treason, they, nevertheless, should record an imputation, or libel, against his character for loyalty, and reporting, as part of the evidence, the opinion of the witness, that the conduct of the accused was such as did not become a loyal subject, should further report, that the evidence of that witness, without specifying any part of it, must be credited till decidedly contradicted, and deserved the most serious consideration? How could he appeal from that Report? How could he decidedly contradict the opinion of the witness? Sire, there is no difference between this supposed case and mine, but this, that in the case of the man, a character for loyalty, however injured, could not be destroyed by such an insinuation. His future life might give him abundant opportunities of falsifying the justice of it. But a female character, once so blasted, what hope or chance has it of recovery?

Your Majesty will not fail to perceive that I have pressed this part of the case with an earnestness which shows that I have felt it. I have no wish to disguise from your Majesty, that I have felt it, and felt it strongly. It is the only part of the case, which I conceive to be in the least degree against me, that rests upon a witness who is at all worthy of your Majesty's credit. How unfair it is that any thing she has said should be pressed against me, I trust I have sufficiently shown. In canvassing, however, Mrs. Lisle's evidence, I hope I have never forgot what was due to Mrs. Lisle. I have been as anxious not to do her injustice, as to do justice to myself. I retain the same respect and regard for Mrs. Lisle now as I ever had. If the unfavourable impressions, which the Commissioners seem to suppose, fairly arise out of the expressions she has used, I am confident they will be understood in a sense which was never intended by her. And I should scorn to purchase any advantage to myself at the expense of the slightest imputation unjustly cast upon Mrs. Lisle, or any one else.

Leaving, therefore, with these observations, Mrs. Lisle's evidence, I must proceed to the evidence of Mr. Bidgood. The parts of it which apply to this part of the case, I mean my conduct to Captain Manby at Montague House, I shall detail. They are as

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follows: "I first observed Captain Manby come to Montague House either at the end of 1803, or the beginning of 1804. I was waiting one day in the anti-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away; he was a long time with the Princess, and, as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and, in the reflection on the looking-glass, I saw them salute each other. I mean that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the Princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room." In his second deposition, on the 3d July, talking of his suspicions of what passed at Southend, he says, "they arose from seeing them kiss each other, as I mentioned before, like people fond of each other; a very close kiss."

In these extracts from his depositions there can undoubtedly be no complaint of any thing being left to inference. Here is a fact which must unquestionably occasion almost as unfavourable interpretations as any fact of the greatest impropriety and indecorum, short of the proof of actual crime. And this fact is positively and affirmatively sworn to. And if this witness is truly represented, as one who must be credited till he is decidedly contradicted, and the decided contradiction of the parties accused should be considered as unavailing, it constitutes a charge which cannot possibly be answered. For the scene is so laid that there is no eye to witness it but his own; and therefore there can be no one who can possibly contradict him, however false his story may be, but the persons whom he accused. As for me, Sire, there is no mode, the most solemn that can be devised, in which I shall not be anxious and happy to contradict it. And I do here most solemnly, in the face of Heaven, most directly and positively affirm, that it is as foul, malicious, and wicked a falsehood as ever was invented by the malice of man. Captain Manby, to whom I have been under the necessity of applying for that purpose, in the deposition which I annex,* most expressly and postively denies

* The deposition of Captain Manby is too important to be curtailed; and therefore, especially as it is very short, the reader shall have it at length in this note:—

"Having had read to me the following passage, from the Copy of a Deposition of Robert Bidgood, sworn the 6th of June last, before Lords Spencer and Grenville, viz.

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it also. Beyond these our two denials, there is nothing which can by possibility be *directly* opposed to Mr. Bidgood's evidence.—All that remains to be done is to examine Mr. Bidgood's credit, and to see how far he deserves the character which the Commissioners give to him. How unfoundedly they gave such a character to Mr. Cole, your Majesty, I am satisfied, must be fully convinced.

I suppose there must be some mistake, I will not call it by any harsher name, for I think it can be no more than a mistake, in Mr. Bidgood's saying that the first time he knew Captain Manby come to Montague House was at the end of 1803, or beginning of 1804, for he first came at the end of the former year; and the fact is, that Mr. Bidgood must have seen him then. But, however, the date is comparatively immaterial, the fact it is, that is important.

"I was waiting one day in the anti-room; Captain Manby had his hat in his hand, and appeared to be going away: he was a long time with the Princess, and, as I stood on the steps waiting, I looked into the room in which they were, and, in the reflection on the looking glass, I saw them salute each other—I mean that they kissed each other's lips. Captain Manby then went away. I then observed the Princess have her handkerchief in her hands, and wipe her eyes, as if she was crying, and went into the drawing-room."

"I do solemnly, and upon my oath, declare, that the said passage is a vile and wicked invention; that it is wholly and absolutely false; that it is impossible he ever could have seen, in the reflection of any glass, any such thing, as I never, upon any occasion, or in any situation, ever had the presumption to salute Her Royal Highness in any such manner, or to take any such liberty, or offer any such insult to her person. And having had read to me another passage, from the same Copy of the same Deposition, in which the said Robert Bidgood says—

"I suspected that Captain Manby slept frequently in the house; it was a subject of conversation in the house. Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself."

"I solemnly swear that such suspicion is wholly unfounded, and that I never did, at Montague House, Southend, Ramsgate, East Cliff, or any where else, ever sleep in any house occupied by, or belonging to, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and that there never did any thing pass between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and myself that I should be in any degree unwilling that all the world should have seen.

(Signed) "THO. MANBY."

This deposition, like the former one of Mr. Thomas Lawrence's, was sworn before Mr. Leach, on the 22d of September, 1806.

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And here, Sire, surely I have the same complaint which I have so often urged. I would ask your Majesty, whether I, not as a Princess of Wales, but as a party accused, had not a right to be thought, and to be presumed, innocent, till I was proved to be guilty? Let me ask, if there ever could exist a case, in which the credit of the witness ought to have been more severely sifted and tried? The fact rested solely upon his single assertion. However false, it could not possibly receive contradiction, but from the parties. The story itself surely is not very probable. My character cannot be considered as under inquiry; it is already gone, and decided upon, by those, if there are any such, who think such a story probable.—That in a room, with the door open, and a servant known to be waiting just by, we should have acted such a scene of gross indecency. The indiscretion at least might have rendered it improbable, even to those, whose prejudices against me might be prepared to conceive nothing improbable in the indecency of it. Yet this seems to have been received as a fact, that there was no reason to question. The witness is assumed, without hesitation, to be the witness of truth, of unquestionable veracity. Not the faintest trace is there to be found of a single question put to him, to try and sift the credit which was due to him, or to his story.

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Is he asked, as I suggested before should have been done with regard to Mr. Cole—to whom he told this fact before? When he told it? what was ever done in consequence of this information? If he never told it, till for the purpose of supporting Lady Douglas's statement, how could he in his situation, as an old servant of the Prince, with whom, as he swears, he had lived twenty-three years, creditably to himself, account for having concealed it so long?, and how came Lady Douglas and Sir John to find out that he knew it, if he never had communicated it before? If he had communicated it, it would then have been useful to have heard how far his present story was consistent with his former, and if it should have happened that this and other matters, which he may have stated, were, at that time, made the subject of any inquiry, then how far that inquiry had tended to confirm or shake his credit. His first examination was, it is true, taken by Lord Grenville, and Lord Spencer alone, without the aid of the experience of the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice; this undoubtedly

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Under the other head, into which I have divided this part of the case, I mean my conduct at Southend, as relative to Captain Manby, Mr. Bidgood is more substantial and particular. His statement on this head begins by shewing that I was at Southend about six weeks before the Africaine, Captain Manby's ship, arrived. That Mr. Sicard was looking out for its arrival, as it was expected. And as it is my practice to require as constant a correspondence to be kept up with my charity boys, when on board ship as the nature of their situation will admit of, and as Mr. Sicard is the person who manages all matters concerning them, and enters into their interests with the most friendly anxiety, he certainly was apprized of the probability of the ship's arrival off Southend, before she came. And here I may as well, perhaps, by the way, remark, that as this correspondence with the boys is always under cover to the Captain, this circumstance may account to your Majesty for the fact, which is stated by some of the witnesses, of several letters being put into the post by Sicard, some of which he may have received from me, which were directed to Captain Manby.

Soon after the arrival of the Africaine, however, Bidgood says, the Captain put off in his boat. Sicard went to meet him, and immediately brought him up to me and my ladies; he dined there then, and came frequently to see me. It would have been as candid, if Mr. Bidgood had represented the fact as it really was, though perhaps the circumstance is not very material: that the Captain brought the two boys on shore with him to see me; and this, as well as many other circumstances connected with these boys, the existence of whom, as accounting in any degree for the intercourse between me and Captain Manby, could never have been collected from out of Bidgood's depositions, Sicard would have stated, if the Commissioners had examined him to it. But though he is thus referred to, though his name is mentioned about the letters sent to Captain Manby, he does not appear to have been examined to any of them, and all that he appears to have been asked is, as to his remembering Captain Manby visiting at Montague House, and to my paying the expense of the linen furniture for his cabin. But Mr. Sicard was, I suppose, represented by my enemies to be a confidant from whom no truth could be extracted, and therefore that it was idle waste of time to examine him to such points; and so unquestionably he, and every other honest servant in my

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sounds, who could be supposed to know any thing upon the subject, were sure to be represented by those, whose conspiracy and falsehood, their honesty and truth were the best means of detecting. The conspirators, however, had the first word, and unfortunately their veracity was not questioned, nor their unfavourable bias suspected.

Mr. Bidgood then proceeds to state the situation of the houses, two of which, with a part of a third, I had at Southend. He describes No. 9 as the house in which I slept; No. 8, as that in which we dined; and No. 7, as containing a drawing-room, to which we retired after dinner. And he says, "I have several times seen the Princess, after having gone to No. 7, with Captain Manby and the rest of the company, retire with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, to No. 9, which was the house where the Princess slept. I *suspect* that Captain Manby slept very frequently in the house.—Hints were given by the servants, and I believe that others suspected it as well as myself."—What those hints were, by what servants given, are things which do not seem to have been thought necessary matters of inquiry. At least there is no trace in Mr. Bidgood's, or any other witness's examination, of any such inquiry having been made.

In his second deposition, which applies to the same fact, after saying that we went away the day after the Africaine sailed from Southend, he says, "Captain Manby was there three times a week at the least, whilst his ship lay for six weeks off Southend at the Nore;—he came as tide served in a morning, and to dine, and drink tea. I have seen him *next* morning by ten o'clock. I suspected he slept at No. 9, the Princess's.—She always put out the candles herself in the drawing-room at No. 9, and bid me not wait to put them up. She gave me the orders as soon as she went to Southend. I used to see water-jugs, basons, and towels, set out opposite the Princess's door in the passage. Never saw them so left in the passage at any other time, and I suspected he was there at that time; there was a general suspicion through the house. Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald there, and Miss Hammond (now Mrs. Hood) there. My suspicion arose from seeing them in the glass," &c. as mentioned before. "Her behaviour like that of a woman attached to a man; used to be by themselves at luncheon, at Southend, when the ladies were not sent for; a number of times. There was a pony which Captain Manby used to ride;

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it stood in the stable ready for him, and which Sicard used to ride." Then he says, the servants used to talk and laugh about Captain Manby, and that it was matter of discourse amongst them; and this, with what has been alluded to before, respecting Sicard's putting letters for him into the post, which he had received from me, contains the whole of his deposition as far as respects Captain Manby. And, Sire, as to the fact of retiring through No. 8, from No. 7, to No. 9, alone with Captain Manby, I have no recollection of ever having gone with Captain Manby, though but for a moment, from the one room in which the company was sitting, through the dining-room to the other drawing-room. It is, however, now above two years ago, and to be confident that such a circumstance might not have happened, is more than I will undertake to be. But in the only sense in which he uses the expression, as retiring alone, coupled with the immediate context that follows, it is most false and scandalous. I know no means of absolutely proving a negative. If the fact was true, there must have been other witnesses who could have proved it as well as Mr. Bidgood. Mrs. Fitzgerald is the only person of the party, who was examined, and her evidence proves the negative, so far as the negative can be proved; for she says, "he dined there, but never stayed late. She was at Southend all the time I was there, and cannot recollect to have seen Captain Manby there, or known him to be there, later than nine, or half-past nine." Miss Fitzgerald and Miss Hammond, (now Mrs. Hood), are not called to this fact; although a fact so extremely important, as it must appear to your Majesty; nor indeed are they examined at all.

As to the putting out of the candles, it seems he says, I gave the orders as soon as I went to Southend, which was six weeks before the Africaine arrived; so this plan of excluding him from the opportunity of knowing what was going on at No. 9, was part of a long meditated scheme, as he would represent it, planned and thought of six weeks before it could be executed; and which, when it was executed, your Majesty will recollect, according to Mr. Bidgood's evidence, there was so little contrivance to conceal, that the basons and towels, which the Captain is insinuated to have used, were exposed to sight, as if to declare that he was there.——It is tedious and disgusting, Sire, I am well aware, to trouble your Majesty with such particulars; but it, doubtless, is

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true, that I bid him not to take the candles away from No. 9. The candles which are used in my drawing-room, are considered as his perquisites. Those on the contrary which are used in my private apartment are the perquisites of my maid. I thought that upon the whole it was a fairer arrangement, when I was at Southend, to give my maid the perquisites of the candles used at No. 9; and I made the arrangement accordingly, and ordered Mr. Bidgood to leave them. This, Sire, is the true account of the fact respecting the candles; an arrangement which very possibly Mr. Bidgood did not like.

But the putting out the candles myself, was not the only thing, from which the inference is drawn, that Captain Manby slept at my house, at No. 9, and as is evidently insinuated, if not stated, in my bed-room. There were water-jugs, and basons, and towels left in the passage, which Mr. Bidgood never saw at other times. At what other times does he mean? At other times than those at which he suspected, from seeing them there, that Captain Manby slept in my house? If every time he saw the basons and towels, &c. in the passage, he suspected Captain Manby slept there, it certainly would follow that he never saw them at times when he did not suspect that fact. But, Sire, upon this important fact, important to the extent of convicting me, if it were true of high treason, if it were not for the indignation which such scandalous, licentious wickedness and malice excite, it would hardly be possible to treat it with any gravity. Whether there were or were not basons and towels sometimes left in a passage at Southend, which were not there generally, and ought to have been never there, I really cannot inform your Majesty. It certainly is possible; but the utmost it can prove, I should trust, might be some slovenliness in my servant, who did not put them in their proper places; but surely it must be left to Mr. Bidgood alone to trace any evidence, from such a circumstance, of the crime of adultery in me. But I cannot thus leave this fact, for I trust I shall here again have the same advantage from the excess and extravagance of this man's malice, as I have already had on the other part of the charge, from the excess and extravagance of his confederate Lady Douglas.

What is the charge that he would insinuate? That I meditated and effected a stolen, secret, clandestine intercourse with an adulterer? No.—Captain Manby, it seems, according to his

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insinuation, slept with me in my own house, under circumstances of such notoriety that it was impossible that any of my female attendants at least should not have known it. Their duties were varied on the occasion; they had to supply basons and towels in places where they never were supplied, except when prepared for him; and they were not only purposely so prepared, but prepared in an open passage, exposed to view, in a manner to excite the suspicion of those who were not admitted into the secret. And what a secret was it, that was thus to be hazarded? No less than what, if discovered, would fix Captain Manby and myself with high treason! Not only therefore must I have been thus careless of reputation, and eager for infamy; but I must have been as careless of my life, as of my honour.—Lost to all sense of shame, surely I must have still retained some regard for life.—Captain Manby too, with a folly and madness equal to his supposed iniquity, must then have put his life in the hands of my servants, and depended for his safety upon their fidelity to me, and their perfidy to the Prince their master. If the excess of vice and crime in all this is believed, could its indiscretion, its madness find credulity to adopt it almost upon an evidence? But what must be the state of that man's mind, as to prejudice, who could come to the conclusion of believing it, from the fact of some water-jugs and towels being found in an unusual place, in a passage near my bed-room? For as to his suspicion being raised by what he says he saw in the looking-glass, if it was as true as it is false, that could not occasion his believing, on any particular night, that Captain Manby slept in my house; the situation of these towels and basons is what leads to that belief.

But, Sire, may I ask, did the Commissioners believe this man's suspicions? If they did, what do they mean by saying that these facts of great indecency, &c. went to a much less extent than the principal charges? And that it was not for them to state their bearing and effect? The bearing of this fact unquestionably, if believed, is the same as that of the principal charge: namely, to prove me guilty of high treason. They therefore could not believe it. But if they did not believe it, and as it seems to me, Sire, no men of common judgment could, on such a statement, how could they bring themselves to name Mr. Bidgood as one of those witnesses on whose unbiassed testimony they could so rely? or how could they (in pointing him out with the other three as

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speaking to facts, *particularly with respect to Captain Manby*, which must be credited till decidedly contradicted,) omit to specify the facts which he spoke to that they thus thought worthy of belief, but leave the whole, including this incredible part of it, recommended to belief by their general and unqualified sanction and approbation?

But the falsehood of this charge does not rest on its incredibility alone. My servant, Mrs. Sauder, who attended constantly on my person, and whose bed-room was close to mine, was examined by the Commissioners; she must have known this fact if it had been true: she positively swears, "that she did not know or believe, that Captain Manby stayed till very late hours with me; that she never suspected there was any improper familiarity between us, M. Wilson, who made my bed, swears, that she had been in the habit of making it ever since she lived with me, that another maid, whose name was Ann Bye, assisted with her in making it, and swears, from what she observed, that she never had any reason to believe that two persons had slept in it. Referring thus by name to her fellow-servant, who made the bed with her, but that servant, why I know not, is not examined.

As your Majesty then finds the inference drawn by Bidgood to amount to a fact so openly and undisguisedly profligate, as to outrage all credibility; as your Majesty finds it negatived by the evidence of three witnesses, one of whom, in particular, if such a fact were true, must have known it; as your Majesty finds one witness appealing to another, who is pointed out as a person who must have been able, with equal means of knowledge, to have confirmed her if she spoke true, and to have contradicted her if she spoke false; and, Sire, when added to all this, your Majesty is graciously pleased to recollect that Mr. Bidgood was one of those who, though in my service, submitted themselves voluntarily to be examined previous to the appointment of the Commissioners, in confirmation of Lady Douglas's statement, without informing me of the fact; and when I state to your Majesty, upon the evidence of Philip Krackeler and Robert Eaglestone, whose deposition I annex,* that this unbiassed witness, during the

* Krackeler was her Royal Highness's footman, and Eaglestone was Park-keeper; and these, being sworn together, before Mr. Leach, at Hatton Garden, on the 27th of September, 1806, stated, that on or about the 28th of the preceding June, as they were

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pendency of these examinations before the Commissioners, was seen to be in conference and communication with Lady Douglas, my most ostensible accuser, do I raise my expectations too high, when I confidently trust that his malice, and his falsehood, as well as his connection in this conspiracy against my honour, my station in this kingdom, and my life, will appear to your Majesty too plainly for him to receive any credit, either in this or any other part of his testimony?

The other circumstances, to which he speaks, are comparatively too trifling, for me to trouble your Majesty with any more observations upon his evidence.

The remaining part of the case, which respects Captain Manby, relates to my conduct at East Cliff.

How little Mrs. Lisle's examination affords for observations upon this part of the case, except as showing how very seldom Captain Manby called upon me while I was there, I have already observed. Mr. Cole says nothing upon this part of the case; nor Mr. Bidgood. The only witness amongst the four whose testimonies are distinguished by the Commissioners as most material, and as those on which they particularly rely, who says any thing upon this part of the case is Fanny Lloyd. Her deposition is as follows:

"I was at Ramsgate with the Princess in 1803. One morning when we were in the house at East Cliff, somebody, I don't recollect who, knocked at my door, and desired me to prepare breakfast for the Princess. This was about six o'clock; I was asleep. During the whole time I was in the Princess's service, I had never been called up before to make the Princess's breakfast. I slept in the housekeeper's room, on the ground floor. I opened the shutters of the window for light. I knew at that time that Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. When I opened the

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walking across Greenwich Park, they saw Bidgood walking towards the house of Sir John Douglas, which is in a different road from that which leads to Montague House, and that they, at the same time perceived Lady Douglas walking in a direction to meet him. The deponents further observed, that when her ladyship and Bidgood met, they stood conversing together for the space of two or three minutes; but how much longer their conversation lasted the deponents could not tell, as they proceeded on their road, which took them out of the sight of Lady Douglas, and Mr. Bidgood.

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shutters, I saw the Princess, walking down the gravel-walk towards the sea. No orders had been given me over-night to prepare breakfast early. The gentleman the Princess was with was a tall man. I was surprised to see the Princess walking with a gentleman at that time in the morning. I am sure it was the Princess."

What this evidence of Fanny Lloyd applies to, I do not feel certain that I recollect. The circumstances which she mentions might, I think, have occurred twice while I was there, and which time she alludes to, I cannot pretend to say. I mean on occasion of two water parties, which I intended; one of which did not take place at all, and the other not so early in the day as was intended, nor was its object effected. Once I intended to pay Admiral Montague a visit to Deal, but wind and tide not serving, we sailed much later than we intended; and instead of landing at Deal, the Admiral came on board our vessel, and we returned to East Cliff in the evening; on which occasion Captain Manby was not of the party, nor was he in the Downs—but it is very possible that, having prepared to set off early, I might have walked down towards the sea, and been seen by Fanny Lloyd. On the other occasion Captain Manby was to have been of the party, and it was to have been on board his ship. I desired him to be early at my house in the morning, and if the day suited me, we would go. He came; I walked with him towards the sea, to look at the morning; I did not like the appearance of the weather, and did not go to sea. Upon either of these occasions Fanny Lloyd might have been called up to make breakfast, and might have seen me walking. As to the orders not having been given her over-night, to that I can say nothing.

But upon this statement what inference can be intended to be drawn from this fact? It is the only one in which F. Lloyd's evidence can in any degree be applied to Captain Manby, and she is one of the important witnesses referred to, as proving something which must, particularly as with regard to Captain Manby, be credited till contradicted, and as deserving the most serious consideration. From the examination of Mrs. Fitzgerald I collect, that she was asked whether Captain Manby ever slept in the house at East Cliff; to which she, to the best of her knowledge, answers in the negative. Is this evidence then of Fanny Lloyd's relied upon to afford an inference that Captain Manby slept in my house?

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or was there at an improper hour? or in a manner, and under circumstances, which afforded reason for unfavourable interpretations? If this were so, can it be believed that I would, under such circumstances, have taken a step, such as calling for breakfast at an unusual hour, which must have made the fact more notorious and remarkable, and brought the attention of the servants, who must have waited at the breakfast, more particularly and pointedly to it?

But if there is any thing which rests, or is supposed to rest, upon the credit of this witness—though she is one of the four whose credit your Majesty will recollect it has been stated that there was no reason to question, yet she stands in a predicament in which, in general at least, I had understood it to be supposed that the credit of a witness was not only questionable, but materially shaken. For, towards the beginning of her examination, she states, that Mr. Mills attended her for a cold; he asked her if the Prince came to Blackheath backwards and forwards, or something to that effect, for the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child. This must have been three or four years ago. She thought it must be some time before the child (W. Austin) was brought to the Princess. To this fact she positively swears, and in this she is as positively contradicted by Mr. Mills; for he swears, in his deposition before the Commissioners, that he never did say to her, or any one, that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child;—that he never thought so, nor surmised any thing of the kind. Mr. Mills has a partner, Mr. Edmeades. The Commissioners therefore, conceiving that Fanny Lloyd might have mistaken one of the partners for the other, examined Mr. Edmeades also. Mr. Edmeades, in his deposition, is equally positive that he never said any such thing—so the matter rests upon these depositions; and upon that state of it, what pretence is there for saying that a witness, who swears to a conversation with a medical person who attended me, of so extremely important a nature, and is so expressly and decidedly contradicted in the important fact which she speaks to, is a witness whose credit there appears no reason to question? This important circumstance must surely have been overlooked when that statement was made.

But this fact of Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades's contradiction of Fanny Lloyd appears to your Majesty, for the first time, from the

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examination before the Commissioners.—But this is the fact which I charge as having been known to those who are concerned in bringing forward this information, and which, nevertheless, was not communicated to your Majesty.—The fact that Fanny Lloyd declared that Mr. Mills told her the Princess was with child is stated in the declarations which were delivered to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and by him forwarded to your Majesty. The fact that Mr. Mills denied ever having so said, though known at the same time, is not stated.

That I may not appear to have represented so strange a fact without sufficient authority, I subjoin the Declaration of Mr. Mills, and the Deposition of Mr. Edmeades, which prove it. Fanny Lloyd's original Declaration, which was delivered to his Royal Highness, is dated on the 12th of February. It appears to have been taken at the Temple; I conclude, therefore, at the chambers of Mr. Lowten, Sir John Douglas's solicitor, who, according to Mr. Cole, accompanied him to Cheltenham to procure some of these Declarations. On the 13th of February, the next day after Fanny Lloyd's Declaration, the Earl of Moira sends for Mr. Mills upon pressing business. Mr. Mills attends him on the 14th; he is asked by his lordship upon the subject of this conversation; he is told he may rely upon his lordship's honour that what passed should be in perfect confidence; (a confidence which Mr. Mills, feeling it to be on a subject too important to his character, at the moment disclaims;)—that it was his (the Earl of Moira's) duty to his Prince, as his counsellor, to inquire into the subject, which he had known for some time.—Fanny Lloyd's statement being then related to Mr. Mills, Mr. Mills, with great warmth, declared that it was an infamous falsehood.—Mr. Lowten, who appears also to have been there by appointment, was called into the room, and he furnished Mr. Mills with the date to which Fanny Lloyd's declaration applied. The meeting ends in Lord Moira's desiring to see Mr. Mills's partner, Mr. Edmeades, who, not being at home, cannot attend him for a few days. He does, however, upon his return, attend him on the 20th of May: on his attendance, instead of Mr. Lowten, he finds Mr. Connant, the magistrate, with Lord Moira. He denies the conversation with Fanny Lloyd as positively and peremptorily as Mr. Mills. Notwithstanding, however, all this, the Declaration of Fanny Lloyd is delivered to his Royal Highness, unaccompanied by these

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contradictions, and forwarded to your Majesty on the 29th. That Mr. Lowten was the solicitor of Sir John Douglas in this business cannot be doubted; that he took some of those Declarations which were laid before your Majesty is clear; and that he took this Declaration of Fanny Lloyd's seems not to be questionable. That the Inquiry by Earl Moira, two days after her Declaration was taken, must have been in consequence of an early communication of it to him, seems necessarily to follow from what is above stated; that it was known on the 14th of May that Mr. Mills contradicted the assertion; and on the 20th, that Mr. Edmeades did, in perfectly clear; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the fact that Mr. Edmeades and Mr. Mills contradicted it, seems to have been not communicated to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for he, as it appears from the Report, forwarded the Declarations which had been delivered to his Royal Highness, through the chancellor to your Majesty; and the Declaration of Fanny Lloyd, which had been so falsified, to the knowledge of the Earl of Moira, and of Mr. Lowten, the solicitor for Sir John Douglas, is sent in to your Majesty as one of the documents on which you were to ground your inquiry, unaccompanied by the falsification by Mills and Edmeades; at least, no declarations by them are amongst those which are transmitted to me as copies of the original Declarations which were laid before your Majesty. I know not whether it was Lord Moira, or Mr. Lowten, who should have communicated this circumstance to his Royal Highness; but that, in all fairness, it ought unquestionably to have been communicated by some one.

I dare not trust myself with any inferences from this proceeding; I content myself with remarking, that it must now be felt that I was justified in saying, that neither his Royal Highness, nor your Majesty, any more than myself, had been fairly dealt with, in not being fully informed upon this important fact; and your Majesty will forgive a weak, unprotected woman, like myself, who, under such circumstances, should apprehend that however certain Sir John and Lady Douglas may appear my ostensible accusers, I have other enemies, whose ill will I may have occasion to fear, without feeling myself assured that it will be strictly restrained in its proceeding against me, by the principles of fairness and of justice.

I have now, Sir, gone through all the evidence which respects

Captain Manby, whether at Montague House, Southend, or East Cliff; and I do trust that your Majesty will see, upon the whole of it, how mistaken a view the Commissioners have taken of it. The pressure of other duties engrossing their time, and their attention, has made them leave the important duties of this investigation, in many particulars, imperfectly discharged—a more thorough attention to it must have given them a better and truer insight into the characters of those witnesses, upon whose credit, as I am convinced your Majesty will now see, they have, without sufficient reason, relied. There remains nothing for me, on this part of the charge, to perform; but, adverting to the circumstance which is falsely sworn against me by Mr. Bidgood, of the salute, and the false inference and insinuation, from other facts, that Captain Manby slept in my house, either at Southend or East Cliff, on my own part most solemnly to declare that they are both utterly false; that Bidgood's assertion, as to the salute, is a malicious slanderous invention, without the slightest shadow of truth to support it; that his suspicions and insinuations, as to Captain Manby's having slept in my house, are also the false suggestions of his own malicious mind; and that Captain Manby never did, to my knowledge or belief, sleep in my house at Southend, East Cliff, or any other house of mine whatever; and, however often he may have been in my company, I solemnly protest to your Majesty, as I have done in former cases, that nothing ever passed between him and me that I should be ashamed or unwilling that all the world should have seen. And I have also, with great pain, and with a deep sense of wounded delicacy, applied to Captain Manby to attest to the same truths, and I subjoin to this letter his Deposition to that effect.*

I stated to your Majesty that I should be obliged to return to other parts of Fanny Lloyd's testimony; at the end of it she says, "I never told Cole that M. Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the library, had gone into the Princess's bedroom, and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess, or that there was a great to do about it, and that M. Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen." This part of her examination, your Majesty will perceive, must have been called from her, by some precise

* See before, Note on pp. 299 and 300.

question, addressed to her, with respect to a supposed communication from her to Mr. Cole. In Mr. Cole's examination, there is not one word upon the subject of it. In his original declaration, however, there is; and there your Majesty will perceive, that he affirms the fact of her having reported to him Mary Wilson's declaration in the very same words in which Fanny Lloyd denies it, and it is therefore evident that the Commissioners, in putting this question to Fanny Lloyd, must have put it to her from Cole's declaration. She positively denies the fact, there is then a flat and precise contradiction, between the examination of Fanny Lloyd and the original statement of Mr. Cole. It is therefore impossible that they both can have spoken true. The Commissioners, for some reason, don't examine Cole to this point at all; don't endeavour to trace out this story; if they had, they must have discovered which of these witnesses spoke the truth; but they leave this contradiction, not only unexplained, but unenquired after, and in that state, report both these witnesses, Cole and Fanny Lloyd, who thus speak to the two sides of a contradiction, and who therefore cannot by possibility both speak truth, as witnesses who cannot be suspected of partiality, whose credit they see no reason to question, and whose story must be believed till contradicted.

But what is, if possible, still more extraordinary, this supposed communication from F. Lloyd to Cole, as your Majesty observes, relates to something which M. Wilson is supposed to have seen and to have said; yet though M. Wilson appears herself to have been examined by the Commissioners on the same day with Fanny Lloyd, in the copy of her examination, as delivered to me, there is no trace of any question relating to this declaration having been put to her.

And I have not less reason to lament, than to be surprised, that it did not occur to the Commissioners to use the necessity of following this inquiry still further. For, if properly pursued, it would have demonstrated two things, both very important to be kept in mind, in the whole of this consideration. First, how hearsay representations of this kind, arising out of little or nothing, become magnified and exaggerated by the circulation of prejudiced, or malicious, reporters; and, secondly, it would have shown the industry of Mr. and Mrs. Bidgood, as well as Mr. Cole, in collecting information in support of Lady Douglas's statement,

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and so improving what they collected by their false colourings, and malicious additions to it. They would have found a story in Mrs. Bidgood's declaration, as well as in her husband's (who relates it as having heard it from his wife), which is evidently the same as that which W. Cole's declaration contains. For the Bidgoods' declarations state, that Fanny Lloyd told Mrs. Bidgood that Mary Wilson had gone into the Princess's bed-room, and had found her Royal Highness and Sir Sidney in the most criminal situation; that she had left the room, and was so shocked, that she fainted away at the door. Here then are Mrs. Bidgood, and Mr. Cole, both declaring what they had heard Fanny Lloyd say, and Fanny Lloyd denying it. How extraordinary is it that they were not at all confronted! and your Majesty will see presently how much it is to be lamented that they were not. For, from Fanny Lloyd's original declaration, it appears that the truth would have come out. As she there states that "to the best of her knowledge Mary Wilson said, that she had seen the Princess and Sir Sidney in the Blue Room, but never heard Mary Wilson say that she was so alarmed as to be in a fit." If then, on confronting Fanny Lloyd with Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, the Commissioners had found Fanny Lloyd's story to be what she related before, and had then put the question to Mary Wilson, and had heard from her what it really was which she had seen and related to Fanny Lloyd, they could not have been at a loss to have discovered which of these witnesses told the truth. They would have found, I am perfectly confident, that all that Mary Wilson ever could have told Fanny Lloyd, was that she had seen Sir Sidney and myself in the Blue Room, and they would then have had to refer to the malicious, and confederated inventions of the Bidgoods and Mr. Cole, for the conversion of the Blue Room, into the bed room; for the vile slander of what M. Wilson was supposed to have seen, and for the violent effect which this scene had upon her. I say their confederated inventions, as it is impossible to suppose that they could have been concerned in inventing the same additions to Fanny Lloyd's story, unless they had communicated together upon it. And when they had once found Mrs. Bidgood and Mr. Cole, thus conspiring together, they would have had no difficulty in connecting them both in the same conspiracy with Sir John Douglas, by shewing how connected Cole was with Sir John Douglas, and how acquainted with his

proceedings, in collecting the evidence which was to support Lady Douglas's declaration.

For, by referring to Mr. Cole's declaration, made on the 23d of February, they would have seen that Mr. Cole, in explaining some observation about Sir Sidney's supposed possession of a key to the garden door, says that it was what "Mr. Lampert, the servant of Sir John Douglas, mentioned at Cheltenham, to Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten."—How should Mr. Cole know that Sir John Douglas and Mr. Lowten had been down to Cheltenham, to collect evidence from this old servant of Sir John Douglas's? How should he have known what that evidence was, unless he had either accompanied them himself, or at least had had such a communication either with Sir John Douglas, or Mr. Lowten, as it never could have occurred to any of them to have made to Mr. Cole, unless, instead of being a mere witness, he were a party to this accusation? But whether they had convinced themselves, that Fanny Lloyd spoke true, and Cole and Mrs. Bidgood falsely; or whether they had convinced themselves of the reverse, it could not have been possible, that they both could have spoken the truth; and, consequently, the Commissioners could never have reported the veracity of both to be free from suspicion, and deserving of credit.

There only remains that I should make a few observations on what appears in the examinations relative to Mr. Hood, (now Lord Hood,) Mr. Chester, and Captain Moore. And I really should not have thought a single observation necessary upon either of them, except that what refers to them is stated in the examinations of Mrs. Lisle.

With respect to Lord Hood, it is as follows:

"I was at Catherington with the Princess; remember Mr. (now Lord) Hood there, and the Princess going out airing with him alone in Mr. Hood's little whiskey;—and his servant was with them; Mr. Hood drove, and staid out two or three times; more than once, three or four times. Mr. Hood dined with us several times; once or twice he slept in a house in the garden; she appeared to pay no attention to him, but that of common civility to an intimate acquaintance." Now, Sire, it is undoubtedly true that I drove out several times with Lord Hood in his one horse chaise, and some few times, twice I believe at most, without any of my servants attending us; and considering the

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time of life, and the respectable character of my Lord Hood, I never should have conceived that I incurred the least danger to my reputation in so doing. If indeed it was the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into instances of my conduct, in which they may conceive it to have been less reserved and dignified, than what would properly become the exalted station which I hold in your Majesty's Royal Family, it is possible that, in the opinions of some, these drives with my Lord Hood were not consistent with that station; and that they were particularly improper in those instances, in which we were not attended by more servants, or any servants of my own. Upon this I have only to observe, that these instances occurred after I had received the news of the lamented death of your Majesty's brother, the Duke of Gloucester. I was at that time down by the sea side for my health. I did not like to forego the advantage of air and exercise for the short remainder of the time which I had to stay there; and I purposely chose to go out, not in my own carriage, and unattended, that I might not be seen, and known to be driving about (myself and my attendants, out of mourning) while his Royal Highness was known to have been so recently dead. This statement, however, is all that I have to make upon my part of the case, and whatever indecorum or impropriety of behaviour the Commissioners have fixed upon me by this circumstance, it must remain; for I cannot deny the truth of the fact, and have only the above explanation to offer of it. As to what Mrs. Lisle's examination contains with respect to Mr. Chester and Captain Moore, it is so connected, that I must trouble your Majesty with the statement of it altogether.

"I was with her Royal Highness at Lady Sheffield's at Christmas in Sussex;—I enquired what company was there when I came,—she said, only Mr. John Chester, who was there by her Royal Highness's orders; that she could get no other company to meet her, on account of the roads, and the season of the year. He dined and slept there that night; the next day other company came, Mr. Chester remained. I heard her Royal Highness say she had been ill in the night, and came out for a light, and lighted her candle in the servant's room. I returned from Sheffield Place to Blackheath with the Princess; Captain Moore dined there; I left him and the Princess twice alone, for a short time; he might be alone half an hour with her in the room below, in which we had been sitting. I went to look for a book to com-

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plete a set her Royal Highness was sending Captain Moore. She made him a present of an inkstand, to the best of my recollection. He was there one morning in January last, on the Princess Charlotte's birth-day; he went away before the rest of the company. I might be about twenty minutes the second time I was away, the night Captain Moore was there. At Lady Sheffield's her Royal Highness paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company. I know of her Royal Highness walking out alone twice, with Mr. Chester in the morning alone; once a short time it rained, the other not an hour, not long. Mr. Chester is a pretty young man; her attentions to him were not uncommon; not the same as to Captain Manby."

And first, Sire, as to what relates to Mr. Chester. If there is any imputation to be cast upon my character by what passed at Sheffield Place with Mr. Chester, (and by the Commissioners returning to examine Mrs. Lisle upon my attention to Mr. Chester, my walking out with him, and above all, "as to him being a pretty young man," I conceive it to be so intended) I am sure your Majesty will see that it is the hardest thing imaginable upon me, that, upon an occurrence which passed in Lady Sheffield's house, on a visit to her, Lady Sheffield herself was never examined; for if she had been, I am convinced that these noble lords, the Commissioners, never could have put me to the painful degradation of stating any thing upon this subject.

The statement begins by Mrs. Lisle's inquiring what company was there? and Lady Sheffield saying, "only Mr. John Chester, who was there by her Royal Highness's orders; that she could get no other company on account of the roads." Is not this, Sire, left open to the inference that Mr. John Chester was the only person who had been invited by my orders? If Lady Sheffield had been examined, she would have been able to have produced the very letter in which, in answer to her ladyship's request that I would let her know what company it would be agreeable for me to meet, I said, "every thing of the name of North, all the Leggs, and Chesters, William and John, &c. &c. and Mr. Elliott." Instead of singing out, therefore, Mr. John Chester, I included him in the enumeration which I made of the near relations of Lady Sheffield; and your Majesty from this alone cannot fail to see how false a colour, even a true fact can assume, if it be not sufficiently inquired into and explained.

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As to the circumstances of my having been taken ill in the night, being obliged to get up, and light my candle; why this fact should be recorded, I am wholly at a loss to conceive. All the circumstances however respecting it, connected very much as they are with the particular disposition of Lady Sheffield's house, would have been fully explained, if thought material to have been inquired after, by Lady Sheffield herself; and I should have been relieved from the painful degradation of alluding at all to a circumstance which I could not further detail, without a great degree of indelicacy; and as I cannot possibly suppose such a detail can be necessary for my defence, it would, especially in addressing your Majesty, be wholly inexcusable. With respect to the attention which I paid to Mr. Chester, and my walking out twice alone with him for a short time, I know not how to notice it. At this distance of time I am not certain that I can, with perfect accuracy, account for the circumstance. It appears to have been a rainy morning; it was on the 27th or 28th of December; and whether, wishing to take a walk, I did not desire Lady Sheffield or Mrs. Lisle or any lady to accompany me in doing what, in such a morning, I might think might be disagreeable to them, I really cannot precisely state to your Majesty.

But here again, perhaps, in the judgment of some persons, may be an instance of familiarity which was not consistent with the dignity of the Princess of Wales; but surely prejudice against me and my character must exceed all natural bounds in those minds in which depravity can be drawn from such a fact. As to Captain Moore, it seems he was left alone with me, and twice in one afternoon by Mrs. Lisle; he was alone with me half an hour. The first time Mrs. Lisle left us, her examination says it was to look for a book which I wished to lend to Captain Moore. How long she was absent on that occasion she is not asked, but it could have been but ten minutes, as she appears to have been absent twenty minutes the second time. The Commissioners, though they particularly return to the inquiry with respect to the length of time of her second absence, did not require her to tell them the occasion of it: if they had, she would have told them, that it was in search of the same book; that having on the first occasion looked for it in the drawing-room, she went afterwards to see for it in Mrs. Fitzgerald's room.—But I made him a present of an

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inkstand. I hope your Majesty will not think I am trifling with your patience when I take notice of such trifles. But it is of such trifles as these, that the evidence consists, when it is the evidence of respectable witnesses speaking to facts, and consequently speaking only the truth. Captain Moore had conferred on me what I felt as a considerable obligation. My mother is very partial to the late Doctor Moore's writings, Captain Moore, as your Majesty knows, is his son, and he promised to lend me, for the purpose of sending it to my mother, a manuscript of an unpublished work of the Doctor's. In return for this civility I begged his acceptance of a trifling present.

There is one circumstance alluded to in these examinations, which I know not how to notice, and yet feel it impossible to omit—I mean what respects certain anonymous papers, or letters, to which Lord Cholmondeley appears to have been examined, upon the supposition of their being my handwriting. A letter marked A. appears, by the examination of Lady Douglas, to have been produced by her; and the two papers, marked B. and a cover, marked C. appear to have been produced by Sir John. These papers I have never seen; but I collect them to be the same as are alluded to in Lady Douglas's original declaration, and, from her representation of them, they are most infamous productions. From the style and language of the letter, she says, Sir John Douglas, Sir Sidney Smith, and herself, would have no manner of hesitation in swearing point blank, (for that is her phrase) to their being in my handwriting; and it seems, from the statement of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, that Sir Sidney Smith had been imposed upon to believe, that these letters and papers were really written and sent to Sir John and Lady Douglas by me. I cannot help, however, remarking to your Majesty, that, though Sir John and Lady Douglas produce these papers, and mark them, yet neither the one nor the other swears to their belief of my handwriting; it does not, indeed, appear, that they were asked the question; and when it once occurred to the Commissioners to be material to inquire whose handwriting these papers were, I should have been much surprised at their not applying to Sir John and Lady Douglas to swear it, as in their original declaration they offer to do, if it had not been that, by that time, I suppose, the Commissioners had

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satisfied themselves of the true value of Sir John and Lady Douglas's oaths, and therefore did not think it worth while to ask them any further questions.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, as appears by his narrative, was convinced, by Sir Sidney Smith, that these letters came from me. His Royal Highness had been applied to by me, in consequence of my having received a formal note from Sir John, Lady Douglas, and Sir Sidney Smith, requesting an audience immediately; this was soon after my having desired to see no more of Lady Douglas. I conceived, therefore, the audience was required for the purpose of remonstrance, and explanation upon this circumstance, and as I was determined not to alter my resolution, nor admit of any discussion upon it, I requested his Royal Highness, who happened to be acquainted with Sir Sidney Smith, to try to prevent my having any further trouble upon the subject. His Royal Highness saw Sir Sidney Smith, and being impressed by him with the belief of Lady Douglas's story, that I was the author of these anonymous letters, he did that which naturally became him, under such belief; he endeavoured, for the peace of your Majesty, and the honour of the Royal Family, to keep from the knowledge of the world, what, if it had been true, would have justly reflected such infinite disgrace upon me; and, it seems, from the narrative, that he procured, through Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John Douglas's assurance that he would, under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested. "This result (his Royal Highness says) he communicated to me the following day, and I seemed satisfied with it." And undoubtedly as he only communicated the result to me, I could not be otherwise than satisfied: for as all that I wanted was, not to be obliged to see Sir John and Lady Douglas, and not to be troubled with them any more, the result of his Royal Highness's interference, through Sir Sidney Smith, was to procure me all that I wanted. I do not wonder that his Royal Highness did not mention to me the particulars of these infamous letters and drawings, which were ascribed to me; for, as long as he believed they were mine, undoubtedly it was a subject which he must have wished to avoid; but I lament, as it happens, that he did not, as I should have satisfied him, as far, at least, as any assertions of mine could have satisfied him, by declaring to him, as I do now most solemnly, that the letter is not mine, and that I know nothing whatever of the contents

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of it, or of the other papers; and, I trust, that his Royal Highness, and every one else who may have taken up any false impression concerning them to my prejudice, from the assertion of Sir John and Lady Douglas, will, upon my assertion, and the evidence of Lord Cholmondeley, remove from their minds this calumnious falsehood, which, with many others, the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas has endeavoured to fasten upon me.

To all these papers Lady Douglas states, in her Declaration, that, not only herself and Sir John Douglas, but Sir Sidney Smith, would have no hesitation in swearing to be in my handwriting.—What says Lord Cholmondeley?—"that he is perfectly acquainted with my manner of writing. Letter A. is not of my handwriting; that the two papers marked B. appear to be wrote in a disguised hand; that some of the letters in them remarkably resemble mine, but, because of the disguise, he cannot say whether they are or not; as to the cover marked C. he did not see the same resemblance." Of these four papers (all of which are stated by Lady Douglas to be so clearly and plainly mine, that there can be no hesitation upon the subject) two bear no resemblance to it, and although the other two, written in a disguised hand, have some letters remarkably resembling mine, yet, I trust, I shall not, upon such evidence, be subjected to so base an imputation; and really, Sire, I know not how to account for the Commissioners examining and reporting upon this subject in this manner. For I understand from Mrs. Fitzgerald, that these drawings were produced by the Commissioners to her; and that she was examined as to her knowledge of them, and as to the handwriting upon them; that she was satisfied and swore that they were not my handwriting, and that she knew nothing of them, and did not believe they could possibly come from any lady in my house. She was shown the seal also, which Lady Douglas, in her Declaration, says, was the "identical one with which I had summoned Sir John Douglas to luncheon." To this seal, though it so much resembled one that belonged to herself, as to make her hesitate till she had particularly observed it, she was at last as positive as to the handwriting, and having expressed herself with some feeling and indignation at the supposition, that either herself, or any of my ladies, could be guilty of so foul a transaction, the Commissioners told her, they were satisfied, and believed her; and there is not one word of all this related in her examination.—

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Now, if their lordships were satisfied from this, or any other circumstance, that these letters were not my writing, and did not come from me, I can account for their not preserving any trace of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence on this point, and leaving it out of their inquiry altogether; but if they thought proper to preserve any evidence upon it, to make it the subject of any examination, surely they should not have left it on Lord Cholmondeley's alone; but I ought to have had the benefit of Mrs. Fitzgerald's evidence also. But, as I said before, they take no notice of her evidence; nay, they finish their Report, they execute it according to the date it bears, upon the 14th of July, and it is not until two days afterwards, namely, on the 16th, that they examine Lord Cholmondeley to the handwriting—with what view, and for what purpose, I cannot even surmise; but with whatever view, and for whatever purpose, if these letters are at all to be alluded to in their Report, or the examinations accompanying it, surely I ought to have had the benefit of the other evidence, which disproved my connection with them.

I have now, Sire, gone through all the matters contained in the examination, on which I think it, in any degree, necessary, to trouble your Majesty with any observations.—For as to the examination of Mrs. Townley the washerwoman, if it applies at all, it must have been intended to have afforded evidence of my pregnancy and miscarriage.—And whether the circumstance she speaks to was occasioned by my having been bled with leeches, or whether an actual miscarriage did take place in my family, and by some means linen belonging to me was procured and used upon the occasion; or to whatever other circumstance it is to be ascribed, after the manner in which the Commissioners have expressed their opinion, on the part of the case respecting my supposed pregnancy, and after the evidence on which they formed their opinion, I do not conceive myself called upon to say any thing upon it; or that any thing I could say could be more satisfactory than repeating the opinion of the Commissioners, as stated in their Report, viz. "That nothing had appeared to them which would warrant the belief that I was pregnant in that year, (1808,) or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries—that they would not be warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Princess, as stated in the original declarations, a fact so fully contradicted, and by so

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many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit.*

There are indeed some other matters mentioned in the original declarations, which I might have found it necessary to observe upon; but as the Commissioners do not appear to have entered into any examination with respect to them, I content myself with thinking that they had found the means of satisfying themselves of the utter falsehood of those particulars, and therefore that they can require no contradiction or observation from me.

On the declaration, therefore, and the evidence, I have nothing further to remark. And, conscious of the length at which I have trespassed on your Majesty's patience, I will forbear to waste your time by any endeavour to recapitulate what I have said. Some few observations, however, before I conclude, I must hope to be permitted to subjoin.

In many of the observations which I have made, your Majesty will observe that I have noticed, what have appeared to me to be great omissions on the part of the Commissioners, in the manner of taking their examinations; in forbearing to put any questions to the witnesses, in the nature of a cross-examination of them;—to confront them with each other; and to call other witnesses, whose testimony must either have confirmed or falsified, in important particulars, the examinations as they have taken them. It may perhaps occur, in consequence of such observations, that I am desirous that this Inquiry should be opened again; that the Commissioners should recommence their labours, and that they should proceed to supply the defects in their previous examinations, by a fuller execution of their duty.—I therefore think it necessary, most distinctly and emphatically to state, that I have no such meaning; and whatever may be the risk that I may incur of being charged with betraying a consciousness of guilt, by thus flying from an extension or repetition of this Inquiry, I most distinctly state, that so far from requesting the revival of it, I humbly request your Majesty would be graciously pleased to understand me as remonstrating, and protesting against it, in the strongest and most solemn manner in my power.

I am yet to learn the legality of such a Commission to inquire, even in the case of high treason, or any other crime known to the laws of the country. If it is lawful in the case of high treason, supposed to be committed by me, surely it must be lawful also in

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the case of high treason supposed to be committed by other subjects of your Majesty.

That there is much objection to it, in reason and principle, my understanding assures me. That such Inquiries, carried on upon *ex parte* examination, and a Report of the result by persons of high authority, may, nay must, have a tendency to prejudice the character of the parties who are exposed to them, and thereby influence the further proceedings in their case;—that are calculated to keep back from notice, and in security, the person of a false accuser, and to leave the accused in the predicament of neither being able to look forward for protection to an acquittal of himself, nor for redress to the conviction of his accuser.—That these and many other objections occur to such a mode of proceeding, in the case of a crime known to the laws of this country, appears to be quite obvious.—But if Commissioners acting under such a power, or your Majesty's privy council, or any regular magistrates, when they have satisfied themselves of the falsehood of the principal charge, and the absence of all legal and substantive offence, are to be considered as empowered to proceed in the examination of the particulars of private life; to report upon the propriety of domestic conduct; and the decorums of private behaviour, and to pronounce their opinion against the party, upon the evidence of dissatisfied servants, whose veracity they are to hold up as unimpeachable, and to do this without permitting the persons whose conduct is inquired into, to suggest one word in explanation or contradiction of the matter with which they are charged: it would, I submit to your Majesty, prove such an attack upon the security and confidence of domestic life, such a means of recording, under the sanction of great names and high authority, the most malicious, and foulest imputations, that no character could possibly be secure; and would do more to break in upon and undermine the happiness and comfort of life, than any proceeding which could be imagined.

The public in general perhaps may feel not much interest in the establishment of such a precedent in my case. They may think it to be a course of proceeding scarcely applicable to any private subject; yet, if once such a court of honour, of decency, and of manners, was established, many subjects might occur to which it might be thought advisable to extend its jurisdiction, beyond the instance of a Princess of Wales. But should it be intended to be

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confined to me, your Majesty, I trust, will not be surprised to find that it does not reconcile me the better to it, should I learn myself to be the single instance in your kingdom, who is exposed to the scrutiny of so severe and formidable a tribunal. So far therefore from giving that sanction or consent to any fresh inquiry, upon similar principles, which I should seem to do, by requiring the renewal of these examinations, I must protest against it; protest against the nature of the proceeding, because its result cannot be fair. I must protest, as long at least as it remains doubtful, against the legality of what has already passed, as well as the legality of its repetition.—If the course be legal, I must submit to the laws, however severe they may be. But I trust new law is not to be found out, and applied to my case.—If I am guilty of crime, I know I am amenable, I am most contented to continue so, to the impartial laws of your Majesty's kingdom; and I fear no charge brought against me, in open day, under the public eye, before the known tribunals of the country, administering justice under those impartial and enlightened laws. But secret tribunals, created for the first time for me, to form and pronounce opinions upon my conduct, without hearing me; to record, in the evidence of the witnesses which they report, imputations against my character upon *ex parte* examinations,—till I am better reconciled to the justice of their proceedings, I cannot fail to fear. And till I am better informed as to their legality, I cannot fail in duty to my dearest interests, most solemnly to remonstrate and to protest against them.

If such tribunals as these are called into action against me by the false charges of friends turned enemies, of servants turned traitors, and acting as spies by the foul conspiracy of such social and domestic treason; I can look to no security to my honour in the most spotless and most cautious innocence.

By the contradiction and denial which in this case I have been enabled to procure, of the most important facts which have been sworn against me by Mr. Cole and Mr. Bidgood,—by the observations and the reasonings which I have addressed to your Majesty, I am confident, that to those whose sense of justice will lead them to wade through this long detail, I shall have removed the impressions which have been raised against me.—But how am I to ensure a patient attention to all this statement? How many will hear that the lord chancellor, the lord chief justice of the king's

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bench, the first lord of the treasury, and one of your Majesty's principal secretaries of state, have reported against me, upon evidence which they have declared to be unbiassed and unquestionable, who will never have the opportunity, or if they had the opportunity, might not have the inclination, to correct the error of that Report, by the examination of my statement.

I feel, therefore, that by this proceeding my character has received essential injury. For a Princess of Wales to have been placed in a situation in which it was essential to her honour to request one gentleman to swear that he was not locked up at midnight in a room with her alone; and another, that he did not give her a lascivious salute, and never slept in her house, is to have been actually degraded and disgraced.—I have been, Sire, placed in this situation; I have been cruelly, your Majesty will permit me to say so, cruelly degraded into the necessity of making such requests; a necessity which I never could have been exposed to, even under this Inquiry, if more attention had been given to the examination of these malicious charges, and of the evidence on which they rest.

Much solicitude is felt, and justly so, as connected with this Inquiry, for the honour of your Majesty's illustrious family. But surely a true regard to that honour should have restrained those who really felt for it from casting such severe reflections on the character and virtue of the Princess of Wales.

If, indeed, after the most diligent and anxious Inquiry, penetrating into every circumstance connected with the charge, sounding every source from which information could be derived, and scrutinizing with all that acuteness into the credit and character of the witnesses which great experience, talent, and intelligence could bring to such a subject; and above all, if after giving me some opportunity of being heard, the force of truth had at length compelled any persons to form, as reluctantly and as unwillingly as they would, against their own daughters, the opinion that has been pronounced, no regard, unquestionably, to my honour and character, nor to that of your Majesty's family, as in some degree involved in mine, could have justified the suppression of that opinion, if legally called for in the course of official and public duty. Whether such caution and reluctance are really manifest in these proceedings, I must leave to less partial judgments than my own to determine.

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In the full examination of these proceedings, which justice to my own character has required of me, I have been compelled to make many observations which, I fear, may prove offensive to persons in high power.—Your Majesty will easily believe, when I solemnly assure you, that I have been deeply sorry to yield to the necessity of so doing. This proceeding manifests that I have enemies enough; I could not wish unnecessarily to increase their number, or their weight. I trust, however, I have done it, I know it has been my purpose to do it, in a manner as little offensive as the justice due to myself would allow of; but I have felt that I have been deeply injured; that I have had much to complain of; and that my silence now would not be taken for forbearance, but would be ascribed to me as a confession of guilt. The Report itself announced to me, that these things, which had been spoken to by the witnesses, "great improprieties and indecencies of conduct," "necessarily occasioning most unfavourable interpretations, and deserving the most serious consideration," "must be credited till decidedly contradicted." The most satisfactory disproof of these circumstances (as the contradiction of the accused is always received with caution and distrust) rested in the proof of the foul malice and falsehood of my accusers and their witnesses. The Report announced to your Majesty that these witnesses, whom I felt to be foul confederates in a base conspiracy against me, were not to be suspected of unfavourable bias, and their veracity, in the judgment of the Commissioners, not to be questioned.

Under these circumstances, Sire, what could I do? Could I forbear, in justice to myself, to announce to your Majesty the existence of a conspiracy against my honour, and my station in this country at least, if not against my life? Could I forbear to point out to your Majesty how long this intended mischief had been meditated against me? Could I forbear to point out my doubts, at least, of the legality of the Commission under which the proceeding had been had? or to point out the errors and inaccuracies into which the great and able men who were named in this Commission, under the hurry and pressure of their great official occupations, had fallen in the execution of this duty? Could I forbear to state and to urge, the great injustice and injury that had been done to my character and my honour, by opinions pronounced against me without hearing me? And if, in the execu-

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tion of this great task; so essential to my honour, I have let drop any expressions which a colder and more cautious prudence would have checked; I appeal to your Majesty's warm heart and generous feelings to suggest my excuse, and to afford my pardon.

What I have said, I have said under the pressure of much misfortune, under the provocation of great and accumulated injustice. Oh! Sire, to be unfortunate, and scarce to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent, is a hard lot; but use had in some degree inured me to it. But to find my misfortunes and my injuries imputed to me as faults; to be called to account upon a charge made against me by Lady Douglas, who was thought at first worthy of credit, although she had pledged her veracity to the fact of my having admitted that I was myself the aggressor in every thing of which I had to complain, has subdued all power of patient bearing; and when I was called upon by the Commissioners, either to admit, by my silence, the guilt which they imputed to me, or to enter into my defence, in contradiction to it;—no longer at liberty to remain silent, I, perhaps, have not known how, with exact propriety, to limit my expressions.

In happier days of my life, before my spirit had been yet at all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt which, I trust, by this time, your Majesty thinks due to it, I should have been disposed to have defied my enemies to the utmost, and to have scorned to answer to any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes, such force of mind is gone, I ought, perhaps, so far, to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have therefore entered into this long detail to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your Majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness hitherto I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can confidently appeal.

Under the impression of these sentiments, I throw myself at your Majesty's feet. I know that whatever sentiments of resentment, whatever wish for redress, by the punishment of my false accusers, I ought to feel, your Majesty, as the father of a Stranger, smarting under false accusation, as the head of your illustrious

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house dishonoured in me, and as the great guardian of the laws of your kingdom, thus foully attempted to have been applied to the purposes of injustice, will not fail to feel for me. At all events, I trust your Majesty will restore me to the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence.

I am,

SIRE,

With every sentiment of gratitude and loyalty,

Your Majesty's most affectionate

and dutiful Daughter-in-Law,

Subject and Servant,

C. P.

Montague House, 2d October, 1806.

CHAPTER VI.

SUCH is the DEFENCE which the Princess of Wales was enabled to make to one of the most foul, malignant, and wicked attempts on her life and honour that was, perhaps, ever before made on the life of any individual. That there should, in the 19th century, and in England too, have existed a well-educated female of family and of rank, so lost to every sense of honourable feeling, so destitute of every spark of gratitude, so debased as to state, in the presence of some of the highest noblemen and peers of the realm, so many facts of sheer indecency; and so abominably wicked as to attempt the life of the wife of the Heir Apparent, posterity will scarcely credit; and the name of Lady Douglas will never be mentioned but in association

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with infamy—in union with all that is abhorrent to the best portion of our natures.

That the reader might be in full possession of every thing of real importance connected with "The Delicate Investigation," I have thought it my duty to present the most valuable of those documents in a perfect shape; and, certainly, the present is one of the most interesting portions of the domestic history of the royal family ever yet recorded, equalled only by the awful climax which the reader will have to contemplate in the subsequent pages of the present work.

The present chapter shall be devoted to a circumstantial detail of every important event arising out of the investigation, already noticed at length, until the illustrious and suffering subject of these Memoirs was induced to leave this country, to seek repose on the continent, and some degree of relief from her unparalleled anxieties by travelling through the most interesting portions of the civilized world.

The reader will naturally inquire as to the result of the long and very able letter to the late King, given in the preceding chapter. With that letter, her Royal Highness sent, also, the following truly affecting note:

"TO THE KING.

"SIRE,

"In discharge of the duty I owe to myself, and the great duty I owe to your Majesty and your illustrious family, I have herewith transmitted a statement, which I confidently trust will appear to prove me not unworthy of the protection and favour with which your Majesty has pleased to honour me.

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"To be restored to that favour and protection, in consequence of a conviction in your Majesty's mind of my innocence, produced by the papers I now humbly lay before your Majesty, is the first wish of my heart.

"Grieved, Sire, deeply grieved as I cannot but be, that your Majesty should be exposed to so much trouble on so painful an occasion, and on my account, it is yet my humble trust that your Majesty will graciously forgive me, if extreme anxiety about my honour, and your Majesty's favourable opinion, leads me humbly to solicit, as an act of justice, that scrupulous attention on your Majesty's part to these papers, which cannot fail, I think, to produce in your Majesty's mind, a full conviction of my innocence, and a due sense of the injuries I have suffered.

"One other prayer I, with all possible humility and anxiety address to your Majesty, that, as I can hope for no happiness, nor expect to enjoy the benefit of that fair reputation to which I know I am entitled, till I am re-admitted into your Majesty's presence, and as I am in truth without guilt, suffering what to me is heavy punishment, whilst I am denied access to your Majesty, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to form an early determination whether my conduct and my sufferings do not authorize me to hope that the blessing of being restored to your Majesty's presence may be conferred upon, Sire, your Majesty's dutifully attached, affectionate, and afflicted daughter-in-law and subject,

(Signed) "CAROLINE."

"*Blackheath, Oct.* 2, 1806."

One would have thought, that after such a decisive answer to every charge of criminality adduced against her Royal Highness; and after such an affectionate appeal by which it was accompanied, that not a day's unnecessary delay would have taken place in returning a satisfactory reply to it; that the mind of the royal sufferer might be instantly relieved as much as possible from every anxiety on the score of character, and her reputation perfectly

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restored to the public. But, alas! from some cause or other, nine weeks were suffered to elapse, and no notice whatever appeared to have been taken of the important communication made by her Royal Highness to his Majesty, otherwise than that the Lord-Chancellor had informed the Princess's counsel, that the letter should be conveyed to the King the very day on which he had himself received it; and, also, that in about a week or ten days afterwards, his lordship communicated to her Royal Highness's solicitor, that his Majesty had read the letter, and that it had been transmitted to his lordship, with directions that it should be copied for the Commissioners, and that when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to the King.

Was it, therefore, to be wondered at, that her Royal Highness should become somewhat impatient to have such an answer to her letter as would satisfactorily restore her to the protection and society of his Majesty, and put a speedy termination to the rumours that were daily gaining ground in the public mind to her prejudice?

On the 8th of December she again ventured to address his Majesty, in a letter strongly, but respectfully expressive of her anxiety and uneasiness at the delay in reply to her communications of the 3d of October preceding. In this letter she says, that his Majesty's own mind would easily conceive what must have been her state of anxiety and suspense, whilst she had been fondly indulging in the

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hope, that every day as it passed, would bring her the happy tidings, that the King was satisfied of her innocence, and convinced of the unfounded malice of her enemies, in every part of their charge. She complained, and that not without much apparent justice, that she was suffered to remain in total ignorance of what had been done, what was then doing, and what was intended on the subject. Whatever might be the cause of the delay, her feelings were severely tortured by suspense, whilst, as she feared, her character was sinking in the opinion of the public.

Her Royal Highness said, that it was known that a Report, though acquitting her of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to her honour, had been made to his Majesty;—that that Report had been communicated to herself:—that she had endeavoured to answer it; and that she still remained, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of her answer, unacquainted with the judgment which was formed upon it. Upon these facts, her Royal Highness most justly complains of the extreme prejudice occasioned to her honour by the delay. The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, began to infer her guilt from it. She felt herself sinking in the estimation of the people, generally, as well as what remained to her of her own family, into a state in which her honour appeared at least equivocal, and her virtue was suspected: a situation intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence. From this

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unhappy condition she humbly entreated his Majesty to perceive, that she could have no hope of being restored, until the King's favourable opinion should be notified to the world, by receiving her again into the royal presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts should expose the malice of her accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.

The various calamities with which it had pleased God to afflict her, she had endeavoured to bear; and she trusted, that she had borne them with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of the infamous charge, and the delay which had suspended its final termination, by depriving her of the consolation which she should have received from his Majesty's presence and kindness, had given a heavy addition to them all; and surely her bitterest enemies could hardly have wished that they should be increased.

She then proceeded to remind his Majesty, that the Queen's birth-day was drawing near, when an occasion would be offered for assembling the royal family; and that should any circumstance take place that would delay the King's answer beyond that period, the world would infallibly conclude, that her answer to the Report of the Commissioners must have proved unsatisfactory, and that the infamous charges had been thought to be but too true. These considerations, she trusted, would, in the mind of his Majesty, rescue her address from all imputation of impatience; for his Majesty's sense

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of honourable feeling would naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it was, that she, conscious as she was of her own innocence, and believing that the malice of her enemies had been completely detected, could, without abandoning all regard to her interests, her happiness, and her honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to her character, and yet wait with patience, and in silence, till it overwhelmed her. "I therefore," she concludes, "take this liberty of throwing myself again at your Majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your Majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the Commissioners to an early communication of their advice."

To save all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, her Royal Highness directed a duplicate of the above-named letter to be prepared, and sent one copy of it through the lord chancellor, and another through Colonel Taylor to the King.

A limited and restrained monarchy, like our own, with all its blessings (and they are not a few) has, in some cases, its evils and inconveniences. The maxim, or rather constitutional fiction, that the King can do no wrong; and that all his measures and communications with his subjects must be taken and made through the medium of his confidential advisers, is not unfrequently the cause of a great delay of justice, and sometimes, to indi-

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viduals, apparently at variance with those Divine maxims laid down in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, which declares that none shall be condemned without trial, and that justice shall neither be denied nor *deferred*. Such was the case in the present instance. Day after day, and week after week, passed away, during which the poison of prejudice, the rancour of malice, and all the evils of misconception and misrepresentation were busily at work with the character and comforts of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. Sixteen weeks, wanting one short day, were suffered to pass over ere this afflicted, this maligned, this grossly persecuted Princess received an assurance from his Majesty, that he would again restore her to his royal presence and favour: for that she had been falsely accused by her adversaries! I know his late Majesty could have no design in this cruel delay of justice—I am equally confident, that the Commissioners, who sat in judgment on this unfortunate Princess, could have no base purpose to answer by it; but, surely, it will not, it must not be denied that blame attached somewhere. Perhaps the period is not yet arrived when the historian may fearlessly express his convictions on this subject; but the fact itself shall be recorded, that an innocent female, of the highest rank in the nation, deserted, abandoned, and forsaken of her husband, had been surrounded by infamous spies—that her conduct had been watched with all the narrowness and vigilance of the utmost scrupu-

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lusity—that her honour had been invaded by those whose duty it was to have protected it—that her very life had been sought by a pretended friend and companion—by a neighbour whom she had honoured with her favour and her confidence—by a female of supposed good character, and of known highly respectable connections—that this persecuted Princess had her conduct rigidly investigated during her absence—and that she, notwithstanding, came forth from that investigation free from every charge of guilt—and that yet she was punished by months of delay ere the sentence of exculpation was announced to her! Posterity will, most assuredly, regard these proceedings with feelings of the utmost abhorrence; and will not fail to express those feelings in terms much too strong for the present day.

On the 29th of January, her Royal Highness again wrote to his Majesty, acknowledging the receipt of his message, and intimating her design to wait upon the King on the following Monday, at Windsor; and on the same day his Majesty replied to her, that, wishing not to put her to the inconvenience of travelling so far immediately after her illness—for she had then but just recovered from the measles—he would prefer receiving her in London, upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which would better suit his Majesty, and of which he would not fail to apprize the Princess.

Here was another vexatious delay: for it was not till the 10th of the ensuing month that she heard any thing further from his Majesty; and then she

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had the mortification to receive a letter, informing her, that, as she might have been led to expect, from the King's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his Majesty thought it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents, which the King directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his Majesty would suspend any farther steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The King, therefore, considered it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the farther result of the Prince's intention should have been made known to him.

It is hardly possible to conceive any thing more truly distressing and provoking that this unexpected determination of his Majesty still to postpone receiving his injured and innocent daughter-in-law, merely because her offended husband, at whose instance the investigation had taken place, thought it right to intimate an intention of still farther inquiry. Well, indeed, might her Royal Highness complain, that after having suffered the punishment of banishment from his Majesty's presence for seven months, pending an inquiry which he had directed into her conduct, affecting both her life and honour;—after that inquiry had at length terminated in the advice of his Majesty's confiden-

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tial and sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for his Majesty's declining to receive her;—if, after a communication, which led her to rest assured that he would appoint an early day to receive her;—if, after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the Prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first inquiry had been directed, she still found, that that punishment which had been inflicted pending a seven months' inquiry before the determination should, contrary to the opinion of the Commissioners, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the lawyers of the Prince of Wales, it was impossible that her Royal Highness should regard herself in any other light than that of an innocent and greatly injured woman. And she did so consider and so express herself to the King in very strong and powerful language.

On the 16th of February, 1807, her Royal Highness addressed another very long letter to the King, in which she recapitulates many of the arguments and statements of her former communications; and representing the various grounds on which she felt the hardship of her case; a review of which she confidently hoped would dispose his Majesty to recal his determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, her reception into his royal presence. Her Royal Highness most dutifully and most distinctly acquits his Majesty of every wish on his part to act unkindly or unjustly towards

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her; attributing the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against her, as well as the unsatisfac-factory state in which they were left, to those only under whose advice his Majesty had deemed it his duty to act. She never could believe, that the cruel state of anxiety, in which she had been kept, ever since the delivery of her answer (for at least sixteen weeks) could be at all attributable to his Majesty; it was most unlike every thing which she had ever experienced from him. It was to his Majesty's confidential servants, and to them only, that she owed the protracted continuance of her sufferings and her disgrace.

Such had always been her sentiments and feelings towards the King; but what must have been her surprise, mortification, and disappointment on the receipt of his Majesty's letter of the 10th, in which she is apprized, as the reader has already been informed, that the last grand cause of delay in the performance of the King's promise again to receive her at court, was to be found in the interference of her husband, the Prince of Wales! "Your Majesty," says she, "I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the Prince of Wales to think this determination necessary, or your Majesty's generosity and justice, would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your Majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such

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a time, and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your Majesty will hasten to recal it. I should," continues this injured Princess, "basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it."

This is the first instance we have met with in which her Royal Highness thus strongly expresses her sense of any actual cruelty in the conduct of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. And it must be confessed, that she does not now complain without some apparent cause, that she was not fairly dealt by. It had been the opinion of his Majesty's Commissioners, that the painful situation in which his Royal Highness had been placed by the communications which Lady Douglas and others had made to him, had left him no other course to pursue, than that which was ultimately adopted. Every sentiment of duty to the King, and of concern for the public welfare, required, in their judgment, that those particulars should not be withheld from his Majesty.

The Prince of Wales, therefore, had already, in the judgment of his Majesty's servants, resorted to the one line only which could be pursued:—a formal commission had been appointed—that commission had sat in solemn judgment on the conduct of her Royal Highness—they had formally delivered their verdict of acquittal, of crime, though they thought proper to accompany that

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verdict by observations on some parts of the Princess's conduct which they thought reprehensible—the King had received that judgment; and had conveyed it to the accused and acquitted Princess herself. Nay; further; those Commissioners had reported to their royal master that there was no longer any reason why he should decline receiving her Royal Highness into his presence and favour. The King himself had conveyed to her this pleasing intelligence; and given her distinctly to understand, that an early day should be fixed upon for the accomplishment of this gracious purpose. Well, indeed, therefore, might it excite the astonishment and indignation of the Princess to find hopes so excited, and claims so well-founded, suddenly attempted to be completely baffled, without any new charge having been adduced against her.

The judgment of the King's confidential servants had, in some degree, been appealed from by the Prince of Wales, whom, from that time at least, her Royal Highness could not consider in any other light than as her accuser. The justice due to her was to be suspended, while the judgment of his Majesty's sworn servants was to be submitted to the revision of her accuser's counsel; and though acquitted, in the opinion of her judges, of all that should induce the King to declare seeing her, she was to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon her during the inquiry, continued after that acquittal, till a fresh statement was prepared,

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to be again submitted, for aught she knew, to another inquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which had just terminated.

Could it be said, she asked, that the proceedings of the four noble lords, or his Majesty's confidential servants, had been so lenient and considerate towards her, and her feelings, as to induce a suspicion that she had been too favourably dealt with by them; or, that the advice which had been given to his Majesty, that he need no longer decline to receive her, was hastily and partially delivered? The contrary to all this she felt confident was the fact. The whole character of the observations which accompanied the advice to his Majesty marked the reluctance with which that advice was given. That the sentiments of his Majesty's confidential servants as to the guilt or innocence of her Royal Highness, also as to the propriety and justice of the advice which had been given to the King, no longer to delay the receiving of the Princess at court, had not undergone any change, was evident from the fact of their being forward to state, that after having read her observations on the Report, and the affidavits which were annexed to them, they perfectly agreed in the opinions which were submitted to his Majesty in the original Report of the four noble lords.

In whatever light this unfortunate Princess could view this measure, there did not appear to be the slightest ground for supposing that any hasty, precipitate, or partial determination in her favour had

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taken place; and it was impossible to interpret the conduct and the reasons together of his Majesty's ministers in any otherwise than as amounting to an admission of the ministers themselves, that her Royal Highness had, in consequence of their withholding their advice, even for a single moment after the date of the original Report itself, been unnecessarily and cruelly banished from the King's presence from the 14th of July, the date of the Report alluded to, to the 28th of January, including a space of six months: and the effect of the interposition of the Prince was to prolong her sufferings and her disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.

The principle which would admit the effect of such an interposition at that time, might, it was very justly argued, be acted upon again; and the Prince might require a further prolongation, upon fresh statements and fresh charges, kept back, possibly, for the purpose of being, from time to time, conveniently interposed to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of unmerited sufferings and disgrace, might, at the same time, expose the true, malicious, and unjust quality of the proceedings which had been so long carried on against her.

Seeing that his Majesty had been induced, contrary to his own gracious purpose, and the advice of his servants, to recal, to her prejudice, the determination he had formed, and that upon the unreasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of the

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Prince of Wales, her Royal Highness hoped that she did not flatter herself too much when she felt assured that her *just* entreaty, founded upon the reasons which she urged, and directed to counteract only the effect of that *unjust* interposition, would induce the King to return to his original determination.

Restored, however, as she should feel herself, to a state of comparative security as well as credit, by being at length to have access to his Majesty, yet, under all the circumstances with which she should then receive that mark and confirmation of his Majesty's opinion of her innocence, her character would not, she feared, stand clear in the public opinion by the mere fact of his Majesty's reception of her. The revocation of the King's original purpose had flung an additional cloud about the whole proceeding, and had tended very greatly to make such an impression to her prejudice as scarcely any thing short of a public exposure of all that had passed could possibly efface.

Thus goaded and harassed, nothing short of the publication to the world of all the proceedings appeared to her necessary to vindicate her honour and character. "The falsehood," said she, "of the accusation is by no means all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your Majesty referred the consideration of them, will show, that whatever

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measure of justice it may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any merciful and indulgent consideration of me, or of my feelings, or of my case."

It would then be seen how her feelings had been harassed, and her character and honour exposed, by the delays which had taken place. It would be seen that the existence of the charge against her had been avowedly made known to the public from the 7th of June in the preceding year. Her Royal Highness here alludes to that "unnecessary insult and outrage" upon her, the sending two attornies, armed with their lordships' warrant, to her house, to bring before them, at once, about half of her household for examination. After a measure of this nature, the idea of privacy was impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy and concealment on her part could, under such circumstances, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.

The publication of the proceedings would not only expose to the world what unnecessary and vexatious delays she had been made to suffer, but to what these delays were owing, and how the King's servants had, in this important business, treated his Majesty's daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female, a stranger in the land, had experienced at their hands.

Such was the disgraceful development to which her Royal Highness appeared to be driven; a proceeding, however, to which she felt an invincible

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repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity might be manifested by the answer to those charges;—the respect still due from her Royal Highness to persons employed in authority under his Majesty;—her duty to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales;—her esteem, her duty, her gratitude to the King;—her anxiety not only to avoid the risk of giving offence or displeasure to him, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in his Majesty's mind, whose happiness she declared it would be the pride and pleasure of her life to consult and promote, all compelled her to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure, to all the unfavourable inferences which were, through this delay, daily increasing in the public mind. For the strength and efficacy of these motives her Royal Highness appealed to the time during which she had been contented to suffer those suspicions to exist against her innocence, which the bringing before the public of her accusations, and her defence of it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.

The measure, however, of making these proceedings public, was evidently surrounded with so many difficulties and objections, that nothing could have prevailed upon her Royal Highness to adopt it but an imperious sense of indispensable duty to her

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future safety, to her present character and honour, and to the feelings, the interest, and the character of her child, the young Princess Charlotte.

Her Royal Highness had flattered herself, that when once this disgraceful proceeding had terminated in her reception at court, and in the presence and favour of the King, that circumstance alone would have been sufficient to have removed every stain from her reputation, and have been perfectly sufficient for the protection of her honour and character; but when it was known that this declaration of her innocence had been so long delayed; and when it came accompanied with a sort of hesitation from his Majesty, her Royal Highness naturally felt herself in a situation in which she could not possibly rest in silence, without an immediate reception into his Majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it were attended by other circumstances which would mark her satisfactory acquittal of the charges which had been brought against her.

She resolved that at no time it should be said with truth, that she had shrunk back from those infamous charges: that she had crouched before her enemies, and had courted them, by her submission, into moderation. "No!" she exclaimed, "I have ever boldly defied them; I have ever felt, and still feel, that if they should think either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise to affect my honour, (since my conscience tells me that they must be as base and as groundless as

those brought by Lady Douglas,) while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct are all living, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whose zeal may be my defenders, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. But should these accusations be renewed, or any other be brought forward at any future time, death may, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification, and my defence."

These serious and momentous considerations, induced her Royal Highness earnestly to request, as indispensable to her security and honour, particularly that all the proceedings, including her various letters to his Majesty, should be so preserved and deposited, as that they might all of them remain permanent, authentic documents and memorials of this accusation, and of the manner in which she met it; of her defence, as well as of the charge. That they might remain capable at any time of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally should ever venture to renew it.

Beyond this, her Royal Highness respectfully demanded, that she should be restored in every respect to the same situation from which the proceedings, under the false charges, had removed her. That, besides being graciously received into the bosom of the royal family, restored to her former station and respect amongst them, his Majesty would be graciously pleased either to

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exert his influence with his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, that she might be restored to the use of her apartment in Carlton House, which was reserved for her, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of those proceedings; or, to assign to her some apartments in one of his Majesty's royal palaces. Some apartment in or near London was indispensably necessary, for her convenient attendance at the drawing-room. Should she, however, not be restored to Carlton House, she trusted the King would perceive how reasonable was the request that some apartment should be assigned to her, suited to her dignity and situation, and which might mark her reception and acknowledgment, as one of his Majesty's family, and from which her attendance at the drawing-room might be easy and convenient.

Should these measures be taken, and these requests granted, her Royal Highness had reason to hope that every thing had been done to restore her perfectly to the public estimation; but, so urgent were they, that unless they should be complied with in one week from the day on which they were made, which would make more than a month from the time when his Majesty had assured her he would receive her, she would consider them as refused; in which case she would feel herself compelled to publish the whole of the proceedings; unless, indeed, the King could suggest some other adequate means of securing her honour, and her

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life, from the effect of the continuance, or renewal, of those proceedings, for the future as well as the present.

Most earnestly did she entreat his Majesty to believe, that it was only in the absence of all other adequate means, that she could resort to that measure; that she considered it with deep regret, that she regarded it with serious apprehension; by no means so much on account of the effect it might have upon herself, as on account of the pain which it might give to his Majesty, his august family, and his loyal subjects.

As far as she herself was concerned, she was aware of the observations to which such a publication would expose her; but, unfortunately, she was placed in such a situation as to have the choice only of two unpleasant alternatives; and she was perfectly confident, that the imputations, and the loss of character, which must, under these circumstances, follow from her silence, would be most injurious and unavoidable; and that, in fact, her silence would inevitably lead to her utter infamy and ruin.

On the other hand, the publication would expose to the world nothing which was spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit were not unanswerably exposed and established,) which could, in the slightest degree, affect her character for honour, virtue, and delicacy.

There might be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity

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in her behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, might be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which her foreign education and foreign habits, misled her to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was her fate to live, and where she had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise her, were wholly free from offence. But when they had been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seemed to derive a colour and character from the nature of the charge they were brought forward to support. Every thing, indeed, gave her Royal Highness reason to believe that those familiar habits had been brought forward for no other purpose than to afford a cover to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they had been taken advantage of to let down her accusers more gently, and to deprive her of that full acquittal, on the Report of the four lords, which her innocence of all offence most justly entitled her to receive.

Nothing can be more clear than this, that whatever opinion may be formed upon any part of the conduct of her Royal Highness, ought in justice to be formed with reference to the situation in which she was placed: if as Princess of Wales she was to be judged, it should be with reference to the high rank of that station, banished from the Prince, unprotected by the support and countenance of that station; and if she should be judged of in her pri-

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vate character as a married woman, she ought to be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, or living in a widowed seclusion from him and retirement from the world.

This consideration naturally leads one to recal to recollection the statement of Mrs. Lisle, who gave it as her *opinion*, that the conduct of her Royal Highness towards Capt. Manby was not precisely that line of proceeding which became a married woman. The extreme injustice, in a case like that of her Royal Highness's, of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment on the conduct of another, the letter and defence of her Royal Highness, given in the preceding chapter, has made sufficiently manifest; where, also, was shown the great impropriety of estimating the conduct of a person in her unfortunate situation, by reference to that, which might in general be expected from a married woman, living happily with her husband. But beyond these general remarks, in forming any estimate of the conduct of the Princess of Wales, the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of her situation ought not to be lost sight of. She had not, as she reminded his Majesty, been much above a year in this country when she received the letter already laid before the reader,* from the Prince her husband, informing her of his reasons for determining on a separation. The date of that letter, the reader will observe, is the 30th of April 1796,

* See pages 118, and 119.

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the date of her marriage with the Prince is the 8th of April 1795, and that of the birth of their only child the 7th of January 1796. Her Royal Highness, when she reminded the King of these facts, which she did, shows her very correct sense of the distinctions and grounds of moral obligation, and of the required, and undeviating necessity of a strict line of purity and virtue. She entreated his Majesty not to understand that she made those allusions to the Prince's conduct towards her, as affording any supposed justification or excuse for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most refined delicacy. "The crime," says she, "which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority, and protection the letter of his Royal Highness might, in any construction of it, be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes, and such faults, derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual who may be the most injured by them, however such virtues may aggravate their enormity."

Such were the sentiments of her late Majesty on the duties imposed upon a woman by the conjugal obligation. They reflect infinite honour on her heart and her judgment. But it does not, therefore, follow, that conduct, not so rigidly measured as a cautious wife, careful to avoid

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the slightest appearance of not preferring her husband to all the world, would observe, should be deemed a crime in a person situated as her Majesty then was. Surely some, and very great allowance ought to be made for a situation so singularly distressing. The conduct which does or does not become a married woman, as her Royal Highness herself very correctly reasoned, materially depends upon what is or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law, and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving, from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then was the case of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales? The Prince did not, in the letter above alluded to, throw out the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of her enemies had brought forward on those charges, had their date years and years after that determination had been formed.

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Two years had scarcely elapsed, from the time of the Princess's arrival in this country, ere she was entirely deprived of the support, the countenance, and the protection of her husband. She was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. She had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those from whom her inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom she could most becomingly have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and, if, in this retired, unassisted, and unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of the country, she had, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits and foreign education, observed a conduct in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity, which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of her exalted rank, it were extremely cruel to brand her Royal Highness with crimes of which she, nevertheless, was not guilty.

It is worth remarking, that the paper transmitted to her Royal Highness by the Lord-Chancellor on the 28th of January, 1807, had neither title, date, signature nor attestation; and had not his lordship accompanied it by a note, stating that it was copied

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by his own hand from the original, which he had received from the King, her Royal Highness could not have discovered a single mark of its authenticity; and, indeed, as she did receive it, she expressed herself wholly unable to discover what was the true character which did really belong to it. It contained, indeed, the advice which his Majesty's ministers had given, and the message which, according to that advice, his Majesty had directed to be given to her Royal Highness.

Considering it, therefore, wholly as the act of the King's servants, the Princess of Wales, deeply injured as she felt herself to have been by them, expressed herself with becoming freedom concerning those servants. "I may, perhaps," says she, "speak with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice; I shall certainly speak with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence."

Her Royal Highness, accordingly, proceeds to animadvert on the conduct and proceedings of his Majesty's ministers in a strain of powerful argumentation, mixed up, at times, with such a portion of censure and complaint, as such conduct and such bungling proceedings justly merited.

The reader will hardly need to be reminded, that the four lords, Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough, who, in 1806, were appointed to sit in judgment on the Princess's conduct, had, in 1807, been removed from their respective offices and places, with the exception, of course, of the

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Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough. Lord Erskine had given place to the present Lord Chancellor, Eldon; Earl Spencer was removed, to make room for Lord Hawkesbury, now Earl of Liverpool; and the first Lord of the Admiralty, Grenville, was displaced, and succeeded by Lord Mulgrave. It was, subsequently, of the conduct of these noble lords, in conjunction with the rest of his Majesty's ministers, that her Royal Highness most loudly complained. Lord Eldon, and Mr. Perceval, who during the transitory whig ministry of 1806-7, had warmly espoused the cause of this injured Princess, seemed suddenly to have entertained sentiments concerning her Royal Highness more agreeable to the views and wishes of the Prince of Wales than to those of either "absolute wisdom," or sound justice. It was natural, therefore, that they should "agree in the opinions of the four lords." The change of ministers, however, above alluded to, had not taken place when her Royal Highness addressed the long letter to his Majesty, of which I have been attempting to give a faithful abstract. She particularly directed her complaints to the existing ministry, who agreeing with "the four lords," in their report, thought proper to add, that they did this after the fullest consideration of her Royal Highness's observations, and of the affidavits which were affixed to them. It is not the province of the historian to indulge in any great length of argumentation on the facts it is his duty to notice; but I may be allowed to appeal to the reader's judg-

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ment, whether the letter, now usually styled the Queen's Defence, and already laid at length before him, does not furnish ample evidence to prove that the four lords spoke without due consideration, and in the absence of many most essential particulars, when, in their Report to the King, they stated, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle, are witnesses who cannot be suspected of any unfavourable bias," and "whose veracity in this respect they had seen no ground to question;" and, "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to Capt. Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted!" Surely his Majesty's ministers could not have read, with the slightest attention, the letter of her Royal Highness; nor have once cast their eyes over the affidavits of Capt. Manby, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Messrs. Edmeades, Mills, &c. Well might her Royal Highness ask, whether she was to understand the King's confidential servants to mean, that they agreed with the four noble lords in their opinions respecting Bidgood, Cole, and others. After having seen William Cole proved to have submitted himself five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by Sir John Douglas's solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of Lady Douglas (of that Lady Douglas, whose statement and deposition they were convinced to be so malicious and false, that they even proposed to institute such prosecutions against her, as his Majesty's law officers might

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advice, upon a reference, at length, after six months detection of that malice and falsehood intended to be made)—After having seen this William Cole, submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose; and although he was all that time a servant in the Princess's establishment, and eating her bread, yet never once communicating to her that such examinations were going on—was she to understand, that his Majesty's confidential servants agreed with the four lords in thinking, that Cole could not, under such circumstances, "*be suspected of unfavourable bias?*" That after having pointed out to them the direct flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agreed to think them both, (though in direct contradiction to each other, yet both) witnesses, "whose veracity they saw no ground to question?" After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted, in an assertion, most injurious to her honour, by Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades, did they agree in opinion with the four noble lords, that "they saw no ground to question their veracity?" After having read the observation on Mr. Bidgood's evidence, after having seen that he had the hardihood to swear, that he believed Captain Manby slept in her house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in her bed-room; after having seen that he founded himself, concerning this most shameless falsity, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of a bason and some towels being found where

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he thought they ought not to be placed; after having seen that this supposed fact, and this insinuation, were disproved before the four noble lords themselves by two maid servants, who at that time lived with her Royal Highness at Scotland, and whose duties about her person and her apartments, must have made them acquainted with that fact, as asserted, or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed, too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of the other female servant (who was not examined) who had, from her situation, equal means of knowledge with themselves—after all this, her Royal Highness asked, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Bidgood's testimony, was she to understand the King's confidential servants to agree with the four noble lords in thinking that Mr. Bidgood was a witness who could not be suspected of unfavourable bias, and that there was no ground to question his veracity? It were an absolute impossibility to answer these interrogatories in the affirmative. Well might her Royal Highness venture to challenge the King's confidential servants to find a single, impartial, and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in counsel with those who had already pledged themselves to an opinion on the subject, who would lay his hand upon his heart, and say that these three witnesses, on whom that Report so mainly relies, were not to be suspected of the

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grossest partiality, and that their veracity was not most fundamentally impeached.

"Was it then," continues this amiable and excellent Princess, "noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your Majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice, which had been, inadvertently, and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me, by the four noble lords in their report upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your Majesty, that they agree with these noble lords in their opinions, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice, which restores me to your royal presence? And, with respect to the particulars to my prejudice remarked upon in the Report as those 'which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted,' instead of fairly acknowledging, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them; instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that some of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, could be considered as *legally or conclusively* established?"

Instead of this, his Majesty's ministers agreed, or pretended to have agreed, in the opinion, that

the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration." Had these ministers or servants of the King read with any attention at all the contradiction which her Royal Highness tendered of those circumstances, facts, or allegations, or any other term by which the abominable falsehoods of Bidgood and others might be designated, they must have known that no other contradiction could, by any possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects. They did not question the truth—they did not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction; but, in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to the answer of her Royal Highness, consisting of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit established nothing against an absent party), they advised his Majesty, that "there appeared many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by him without serious concern;" and that, as to all other facts and allegations, except those relative to the Princess's pregnancy and delivery, they were not to be considered as "*legally and conclusively established*," because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They did not, indeed, expressly assert, that her Royal Highness's contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they did not expressly state, that the

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facts and allegations wanted nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment, but a re-examination, in the presence of the parties interested, but they went far to imply such opinions: That those opinions were utterly untenable against the observations which her Royal Highness had made upon the credit and character of those witnesses, her Royal Highness might ever most confidently maintain; but that those observations left their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from his Majesty's servants, it was impossible that any honourable man could assent, or any fair and unprejudiced mind believe.

With a pertinacity of judgment utterly irreconcilable with that candour and generosity which always govern the unprejudiced in cases of doubt and difficulty, his Majesty's ministers, as the reader will already have observed, discovered, or imagined they discovered, both in the examinations, and even in the answer of her Royal Highness, many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which suggested the expression of a desire and expectation, that such a conduct might in future be observed by her Royal Highness, as would fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which his Majesty had always wished to show to all his family.

This reproof, which to every unbiassed mind must appear wholly unnecessary, if not absolutely unjust, was rendered doubly bitter to her Royal

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Highness, as it was unaccompanied by any particular mention of what was the object of their blame. It was impossible for her Royal Highness to discover, either in the examination or, still less, in her own satisfactory answer to them, what were the circumstances of conduct to which his Majesty's confidential servants could allude. But this was apparent, that there were no circumstances of conduct spoken to by any witness, (whose infamy and discredit were not unanswerably exposed and established) nor were there any thing in the answer of her Royal Highness which could fairly be said to approach, in the remotest manner, to either crime or indelicacy.

Her Royal Highness, at all times, expressed and manifested the most dutiful obedience to the wishes of his Majesty, and was desirous to conform herself to his pleasure as her law; but, in order to do this, it was essential that she should be made acquainted with any particulars that might unfortunately happen to displease him. She declared that she should be as happy in feeling herself safe from blame under the benefit of his Majesty's advice, as she was then in finding herself secured from danger under the protection of his Majesty's justice.

Her Royal Highness concludes her last solemn appeal to the King against the decision of his confidential servants, and the malice of her enemies, in language of an awfully prophetic character, and in a strain which recent events have but too fatally justified for her Royal Highness in using. I cannot

resist the temptation of giving these sentiments in her Royal Highness's own words: "Your Majesty," says she, "has seen what detriment my character has for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of Lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of that statement. Your Majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few, as it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined and unprovoked malignity, yet I cannot flatter myself that the world does not produce other persons, who may be *swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness*. Whether a statement to be prepared by the Prince of Wales is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice inflamed rather than abated by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your Majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me either on old or fresh evidence, or whether *new accusations, as well as new witnesses*, are to be brought forward, your Majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind

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to be prejudiced by *ex-parte*, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations or suggestions which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognise, should be brought against me in an open, legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity so meeting it, I trust your Majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty; for, without that presumption, against the efforts of secret insinuation and *ex-parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and have no security.

"Surrounded, as it is now proved that I have been, for years, by *domestic spies*, your Majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And that these spies have been obliged to have recourse to their own invention, for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy, which I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very ex-

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ness and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence."

Will not the reader, when he has attended to the proceedings subsequently instituted against the late most persecuted Queen, imagine, on the perusal of this extract of a letter, dated in the early part of the year 1807, that it really might bear date in 1820? Little, indeed, was the malice of her enemies restrained by truth in the pursuit of her ruin!—Other Lady Douglases—other Bidgoods—other Coles, and other Fanny Lloyds were found, swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness—new accusations and new witnesses, almost without measure or end, rose up against her. But her Royal Highness, having lost her great, her efficient friend and protector, the late King, her appeal against the prejudice that might be excited by *ex-parte* and *secret* examinations was made in vain. Her character was whispered away by insinuations and suggestions which, for a long time, she had no means of meeting. Awful, therefore, I say, and prophetic were the appeal and the observations which her Royal Highness made in the year 1807, anticipatory of the shameless disclosures of 1820!

Her Royal Highness finally concludes her long letter, with an expression of confidence, that many days would not elapse before she should receive

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from his Majesty, that assurance that her just requests might be so completely granted, as to render it impossible for her to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which those proceedings, in the manner in which they had been conducted, had brought upon her.

Had we not authentic documents to demonstrate the fact, beyond all doubt or difficulty, posterity might justly suspect the fidelity of the historian of these shameful transactions, whose duty nevertheless it is to state, that even this just, this dutiful and most affectionate appeal to the justice and compassion of the King, was disregarded; so potent were the means employed to keep alive the spirit of persecution against the Princess of Wales.

Days and weeks passed on, and no answer was returned. Her Royal Highness waited (with what degree of patience and anxiety may be readily conceived) in the hourly hope of receiving his Majesty's commands to pay her duty in his royal presence. And when that hope was disappointed, at the expiration of a week, she thought it just possible, that the reason for her not having received his Majesty's commands to that effect, might have been occasioned by the circumstance of his Majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. She therefore determined to wait a few days longer before she took a step, which, when once taken, could not be recalled. In a letter, dated the 5th of March, she declared, that having

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assured herself that the King was in town the preceding day, but having received no command to wait upon him, and no intimation of his pleasure, she was reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope that his Majesty would comply with her humble, her earnest, and anxious requests. His Majesty, therefore, was cautioned not to be surprised to find that the publication which her Royal Highness had threatened to send forth to the world, would not be withheld beyond the following Monday.

As to any consequences which such a publication might have on her Royal Highness, of that she must, of course, bear the responsibility; and as to the effect which such an exposure of injustice and cruelty might have on others, or on the country at large, her conscience could not accuse her. She was confident that she had not acted impatiently or precipitately. To avoid coming to that painful extremity, her Royal Highness had taken every step in her power, except that which would have been abandoning her character to utter infamy, and her state and life to no uncertain danger, and, possibly, to no very distant destruction.

With these facts, and these impressions, was it at all strange that her Royal Highness should conclude her last appeal to the justice of the King, by subscribing herself, as his Majesty's "most dutiful, loyal, and affectionate, but *most unhappy and most injured* daughter-in-law, subject, and servant?"

We have read, in books of romance, and even in authentic histories, both of our own country and

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of others, of injured queens, and persecuted princesses; but I have no recollection of any instance similar to the one now before us. I know no instance in which the accused has been acquitted of all crime by her judges, and that too before a tribunal solely of their own formation, and even before any adequate means had been afforded to rebut the secret evidence that had been adduced against her, yet still condemned to suffer that punishment, at least in part, which could only have been awarded had a verdict of guilty been returned against her. And was not this the case in the instance of the Princess of Wales? most assuredly it was; and that the following minute of council, dated April 22d, 1807, and signed by the principal members of that council, fully proves:*

"Your Majesty's confidential servants have, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, most attentively considered the original charges and Report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your Majesty, on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

"In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But ad-

* The names of those who signed this curious and important document, were the following: the Lord-Chancellor, Eldon; the Lord-President, Camden; the Lord Privy-Seal, Westmoreland; the Duke of Portland, first Lord of the Treasury; the Earl of Chatham, Master General of the Ordnance; the Earl of Bathurst; Viscount Castlereagh; Lord Mulgrave, first Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Secretary Canning; and Lord Hawkesbury, now Earl of Liverpool.

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verting to the advice which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your Majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your Majesty their conviction that his Royal Highness could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your Majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

"After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the Commissioners, confirmed by that of all your Majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your Majesty their unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence* of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

"Your Majesty's confidential servants, therefore concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty, that it is essentially necessary, *in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interest of your Majesty's illustrious family*, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales *should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into your Majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station in your Majesty's court and family.*

"Your Majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your Majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your Majesty's government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the grounds on which your Majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that

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for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of all these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your Majesty's principal secretary of state."

Could a more complete document of exculpation, of all and every part of the charges alleged against the Princess of Wales, have been framed? Here we see that not only the two main charges of pregnancy and delivery are admitted to have been completely disproved, but also that *all* other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the least character of criminality could be ascribed, are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence undeserving of credit. That her Royal Highness should, therefore, be immediately restored to his Majesty's presence, to the full possession of every honour to which she was justly entitled according to her rank and station in life, was deemed essentially necessary, in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interest of the royal family.

Here, then, is a complete acquittal—a perfect acknowledgment, that not a shadow of reason existed why her Royal Highness should not instantly be restored to the full enjoyment of all her rights and honours. But what will posterity say when they read that she was not instantly and fully restored; that although admitted at court, and visited by the King, she was very soon afterwards again pestered and annoyed by the malice of her enemies? But let us proceed as regularly as possible with our narrative.

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Soon after the termination of the inquiries of the Commissioners in the years 1806-7, report stated that Mr. Perceval had caused the whole of their proceedings to be thrown together into the form in which they afterwards appeared as printed in "*The Book*," the whole substance of which I have now laid before the reader. Of this singular production two large impressions were said to have been printed, notwithstanding the fact that every person engaged in this business had been sworn to secrecy. For a long time this book was kept from the public eye; but at length it was whispered that some copies of it were in the hands of private individuals. It was about the latter end of the year 1808 that these alarming rumours began to circulate, and came to the ears of Mr. Perceval, then become a warm advocate for the Prince of Wales. An advertisement* was issued, offering a reward to any person who would give up a copy of it to Mr. Lindsell, bookseller; and some persons, it was said, thereby obtained very large sums of money; some obtained as much as five hundred pounds; some eight; and one person no less a sum than fifteen hundred guineas for a copy. It has been positively asserted, but upon what authority I have no means

* This advertisement, which appears in the *Times* newspaper of March 17th, 1809, is as follows:—

'A Book! A Book!

'Any person having in their possession a certain Book, printed by Mr. Edwards in 1808, but never published, with W. Lindsell's name, as the seller of the same, on the title-page, and will bring it to W. Lindsell, bookseller, Wimpole-street, will receive a handsome gratuity.'

of ascertaining, that the enormous amount of twenty thousand pounds were expended in buying up, and concealing Mr. Perceval's mysterious book from the public eye!

All efforts, however, to suppress this most developing publication eventually proved unavailing; and *The Book* made its appearance, and was reprinted in every possible form. When the bill for making provision for the Princesses was brought into Parliament, in the year 1811, Mr. Perceval sent for every person whom he knew was acquainted with *The Book*, and expressed his apprehensions that its contents had been improperly divulged; but it was then too late. On that occasion Mr. Perceval, in allusion to a speech from Mr. Bennet, said that, with regard to the separation of the royal persons alluded to, he should say nothing. He might, and did lament it as much as any man could; but neither as a minister, nor in any other character, did he feel himself called upon to say any thing upon the subject. As to what had been said, respecting the grant of 10,000*l.* additional to the Queen, the committee must be aware that it was entirely of a different nature from that under consideration. Its object was to enable the Queen to meet expenses which she would be likely to incur, unconnected in any manner with the Princesses. There was no increase of the civil list of the Prince of Wales above that of the King; on the contrary, there was a diminution.

The same evening, Mr. Perceval having made

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some mention of the liberality of the Prince Regent, in discharging some debts of the Princess of Wales, Mr. Whitbread, whose zeal in the service of her Royal Highness was constant, ardent, and valuable, urged some previous considerations, and observed, that, when the subject of the household was lately before the House, he understood, that the additional grant of 10,000*l.* was made to the Princess's establishment. Nevertheless, he was afraid, that some such proposal as the present, would, in a short time, be made to the House. He would be glad to hear a satisfactory reason, why the present arrangement was not then taken into consideration. As to the Princess of Wales, he thought it strange that she should be so poorly provided for, when the right honourable gentleman seemed to be so solicitous for providing for every other branch of the royal family. When the right honourable gentleman talked of his Royal Highness taking upon himself the payment of 49,000*l.* could it be forgotten that his Royal Highness was enormously in debt himself? He, indeed, who could not pay his own debts, engaged to pay those of another: this, Mr. Whitbread said, looked very like a juggle. The 70,000*l.* that was now appropriated to the payment of the Prince's own debts, he observed, was without control or limitation. The persons to whom it was confided were not responsible to Parliament, and were revocable by the Prince himself. Sixty thousand a-year was given to the King for the privy purse. Did the right honour-

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this gentleman know the extent of the debt due from the Prince? and could he give security to the House, that, after the payment of the 30,000*l.* now asked for, other demands should not be made? In his opinion, the only proper way would be, that the 30,000*l.* should be paid off; and then, if any thing farther remained, they should come to Parliament, fairly and openly, and pay off the whole. There was a time when the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Perceval, not only thought it not inconsistent with his duty to give information on the subject of the "Delicate Investigation," but when he took every pains to spread this information as generally as possible. At that time a book was prepared, which was intended to be circulated most extensively, both here and upon the continent. The Book, however, had been suppressed, and the outstanding copies had been bought up at a great expense, out of some fund or other, whether public or private he could not say. He could not conceive why the right honourable gentleman now remained mute, when before he had a thousand tongues.

As to the real income of the Queen, it was 58,000*l.* per annum, while she lived on the establishment of the King; whereas the Princess of Wales, the consort of the Prince Regent, had only 22,000*l.* per annum, and was obliged to live entirely at her own expense. All that the nation knows of her residence, said Mr. Whitbread, is that she lives in retirement, either at Kensington or

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Blackheath. This was certainly not the situation in which the country would wish to see the wife of the Prince Regent placed, or in which they considered that she ought to be placed. At a time when additional grants were wanted for the other branches of the royal family, it was natural to ask, why had she been so neglected?

Mr. Tierney then rose, and said that he had yet another objection to make relative to the civil list, and that was with respect to the provision which it contained for the Princess of Wales. There was talk, indeed, of a *separation*, but the House knew nothing of such a separation: the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Perceval, however, knew a great deal about it; he had acted as counsel in that investigation so much talked of; and it was surprising he should now sit so mute, and hear all this whispered about respecting his favourite Princess, his client, and not have one word to say in her defence! It struck him (Mr. Tierney) very forcibly, that there was now a person in this country representing the Prince Regent's wife, who was as much a *Queen* as he a *King*.

Thus called upon, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did say, on the 17th of April, 1811, "that what he had stated with respect to the Princess of Wales was, that neither in his situation as counsel to her Royal Highness, nor in any other character, was he conscious that there existed a ground of charge. He should always be prepared to make the same statement."

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Mr. Whitbread, on this occasion, also said, "I have heard that the Queen is about to hold a drawing-room: of course no hopes can now exist of his Majesty's recovery; because if there were any, such a step would not be resorted to; but in case that drawing-room be held, I would wish to know if there is to be any public appearance of the Princess of Wales? This is no private concern: the public have a right to demand, why the acknowledged consort of their Regent does not appear in public as such. No affectation of delicacy can be permitted to stand in the way of a nation's anxiety, upon a question of such national importance. If any man can satisfy the public upon this topic, it is the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Perceval. They believe him to have conscientiously undertaken her defence—to have written her vindication—to have perused that vindication—to have published it. That vindication is said to have involved in it an attack upon her royal consort. It was known to have been an attack upon his Royal Highness, and the Regent's first minister is known to have been the author of it: and after he had published it; after it had been read by one and one hundred, it was bought up at an enormous expence; bought up by the private secretary of the honourable gentleman. I ask him now, does he retain his former opinion of the unexceptionable conduct of the Princess of Wales? I ask him, if he did not lately in the House solemnly record his confirmation of that opinion?

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and if it is now what it was the other night, I call upon him to explain, if he can, his apparent desertion of her just claims to that respect, notice, provision, and consideration, due to the undoubted Princess Regent of these realms. These are questions, which, as he values his own consistency, as he values the character and claims of the Princess, and as he respects the Prince, his master, he is bound to answer."

To these close and pressing questions, Mr. Perceval gave such an answer as most completely exculpated her Royal Highness from all guilt or culpability whatever. Notwithstanding this, the public journals that were supposed to be in the confidence of the Regent's ministers, and of course, under the influence, in a great degree, of this same Mr. Perceval, and his colleagues, continued, from time to time, to cast the most cruel, though indirect, censure on the conduct and character of the Princess of Wales; and from the circumstance of very frequent conferences being held between the Regent, the Lord-Chancellor, &c. added to the knowledge of some disagreement at Windsor, it was at length suggested that a very important change was about to take place in the connubial relations of the Prince Regent and his wife. Though the innocence of the Princess had been proved to the entire satisfaction of his Majesty's cabinet, as well as to that of every honest, unprejudiced man in the kingdom, it was most unfeelingly hinted, in some of the papers above

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alluded to, that as the constitution knew nothing of the council's authority or decisions, another trial, before another tribunal, would be necessary. A jury was talked of, and facts hinted at, as very proper to come before it.

Such was the rankling spleen of Her Royal Highness's enemies!—such was the bitter animosity with which they never ceased to pursue her! Her acquittal worked no change in the minds or the malice of her adversaries; with undeviating rancour they watched all her steps; with unbounded vindictiveness they ripped open every wound; emblazoned by every artifice to lacerate her keenest sensibilities; to torture and goad her to desperation; and so to poison the public mind against her, as to render her the object of universal scorn and derision. With more bitter animosity was human being never before hunted; yet every diabolical effort failed of its object: the good sense and unbroken virtue of the people of England, resisted every attempt of the enemies of their favourite Princess. In proportion to the malignity of her foes, the zeal of her friends enkindled; but, alas! her Royal Highness had to contend against all the power, and all the wealth, and all the influence of the aristocracy; the great body of the people was decidedly in her favour; but the people had no means of rescuing her from the hands of her persecutors, who had the art and the power to misrepresent every thing she said or did, and to palliate, excuse, and defend whatever was done to her prejudice. What, how-

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ever, was the dismay with which they were struck on reading in the Morning Chronicle of Wednesday, the 10th of February, the following *Letter of the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent?*

"Sir,

"It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to solicit your attention to matters, which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than of a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give an, enemies, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time, I should continue in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society, and those domestic comforts, to which I have been so long a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter.

"May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the Mother of your Daughter—the Mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British Empire.

"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that, during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions I still was inclined to delay taking

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this step; in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour and my beloved Child, or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the Mother and the Daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me, certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my Child, involves me in such misery as I well know your Royal Highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a Mother's affection.—That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced—or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your Daughter, and to your People, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you

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to reflect on the situation in which I am placed; without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an Inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a Mother who may not enjoy the society of her only Child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your Royal Highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my Daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for her sake I presume to call away your Royal Highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the Constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own paternal feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for me, with whom, by his Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know; and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my Daughter from all intercourse with

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the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the Sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance, which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the Crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake as well as her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my Daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journies to town, which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my Daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of Confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the Royal Family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty, towards your Royal Highness, my beloved Child, and the Country which

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I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show by a new example the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

"I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,

Your Royal Highness's most devoted and affectionate consort, cousin and subject,

(Signed) CAROLINE LOUISA.

"Montague House, 14th January 1813."

This letter, as soon as it was written, was transmitted to Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon, sealed, by Lady Charlotte Campbell as lady in waiting for the current month, accompanied with an intimation of her Royal Highness's pleasure, that it should be presented to the Prince Regent. An open copy of the letter was also sent to those two noble lords for their perusal.

On the following day, the 15th of January, Lord Liverpool returned the letter unopened, with his lordship's compliments to Lady Charlotte Campbell. Her Royal Highness, however, was not to be repulsed, by this insult; for, most assuredly, a most gross insult it was. Accordingly, on the 16th, the letter was again presented to Lord Liverpool, with a note from Lady Charlotte Campbell, intimating, that as it contained matter of importance to the state, she relied on its being laid before his Royal Highness. Will it, however, be believed, that it was again returned unopened, with the Earl of Liverpool's compliments, saying that the Prince saw no reason to depart from his determination. Her Royal Highness, however,

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with more patience and perseverance than usually fall to the lot of human beings, once more directed the letter to be sent to his Royal Highness, together with another letter, addressed to the two noble lords, expressing a hope that their lordships would not take upon themselves the responsibility of not communicating her letter to the Prince, and that she should not be the only subject in the empire whose petition was not permitted to reach the throne.

To this just intimation, no answer having been returned, on the 19th, her Royal Highness commanded another letter to be written to the two noble lords desiring to know whether her letter had been made known to his Royal Highness by being read to him, and to know his pleasure thereon. To this very reasonable request also no answer was returned; and, therefore, on the 25th of January, this most insulted and outraged Princess, directed another letter to be written, expressing her surprise that no answer had been given to her application for a whole week.

At length an answer was received, stating that, in consequence of the demand of her Royal Highness, her letter had been read to the Prince Regent on the 20th, but that his Royal Highness had not been pleased to express his pleasure thereon.

The Queen's birth-day, about this time, was celebrated by a grand Drawing-Room, and it was very generally expected that the Princess Charlotte of Wales would be presented by her mother. The

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Drawing-Room, in consequence, was unusually crowded; but to the surprise and indignation of all the best portion of the community, this circumstance did not take place.

Soon after this, Sir Francis Burdett, in the House of Commons, made a motion to provide a Regency, in case of the death, or the incapacity, of the present Regent. The honourable baronet, in the speech which he made on that occasion, said, that he wished to guard against any future recurrence to those unconstitutional means which had been so lately resorted to in the appointment of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He concluded by saying, that he wished the factions might not have the power to fill the throne by whom they pleased, and under what authority they pleased. The motion, however, was lost; but whilst the enemies of the Princess, through the medium of one or two of the daily prints, were congratulating each other, and flattering themselves that they should be able to stifle all farther inquiry into the affairs of the Regent, both within and without doors, they had yet to endure greater mortifications. It was to little purpose, indeed, that they hinted at "a dreadful responsibility somewhere," for those persons who had advised the publication of the Princess's letter. They even plumed themselves in not having any share in bringing these circumstances before the public eye, implying, of course, that they should have no share in the punishment. In fact they not only talked of a second

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trial, but some persons hinted at apartments preparing in the Tower! They imagined, that as all inquiry on the part of Sir Francis Burdett had been quashed by the loss of his motion, one which had been announced by the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone would share the same fate. Nor did they once imagine that the Princess, who had already appealed to the Prince and the people in the letter she had published, would again come forward, and appeal to the Parliament itself. To their infinite confusion, however, on the 2nd of March, 1813, the speaker acquainted the House, that during the sitting of the House the day before, he had received a letter, addressed to him, purporting to be from her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales. The letter bore no date, nor any signature; and, from making inquiry of the door-keeper, he learnt that the person who delivered it was unknown to him. He thought it his duty, therefore, to take no step upon it, or to notify it to the House, until he should hear further from that illustrious personage, or until he had authenticated that letter to be what it professed; and hoped his conduct in this respect was justified, in not then throwing any impediment in the way of the proceedings of the House. He was then, however, enabled to state that the letter had been authenticated; and, with the leave of the House, he would then read a letter which he had that day received from her Royal Highness, dated the 1st of March, 1813. The House, by loud cheers, and cries of "*read! read!*"

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signified its assent, and the speaker accordingly read as follows:

Montague House, Blackheath,
2nd March, 1813.

"The Princess of Wales begs to inform Mr. Speaker, that, by her own desire, as well as in consequence of the advice of her counsel, she yesterday transmitted to him a letter, the contents of which, she was anxious, should be made known to the House of Commons; and with that view, her Royal Highness now encloses herewith a duplicate of that letter."

The following is a true Copy:—

Montague House, Blackheath,
1st March, 1813.

"The Princess of Wales informs Mr. Speaker, that she has received from the Lord Viscount Sidmouth, a copy of a Report made to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, by a certain number of the members of his Privy Council, to whom it appears, that his Royal Highness had been advised to refer the consideration of documents, and other evidence, respecting her character and conduct.

"The Report is of such a nature, that her Royal Highness feels persuaded, no person can read it without considering it as conveying aspersions upon her; and although their vagueness renders it impossible to discover precisely what is meant, or even what she has been charged with; yet, as the Princess feels conscious of no offence whatever, she thinks it due to herself, to the illustrious houses with which she is connected, by blood and by marriage, and to the people, among whom she holds so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a moment, in any imputation affecting her honour.

"The Princess of Wales has not been permitted to know upon what evidence the members of the Privy Council proceeded, still less to be heard in her defence. She knew only by common rumours of the inquiries which they have been carrying on, until the result of those inquiries was communicated to her, as she has no means now of knowing, whether the members acted as a body, to which she can appeal for redress, at least for a hearing; or only in their individual capacities as persons selected to make a Report upon her conduct."

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"The Princess is therefore compelled to throw herself upon the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and to desire that the fullest investigation may be instituted of her whole conduct during the period of her residence in this country.

"The Princess fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she may be tried by impartial judges, known to the Constitution, and in the fair and open manner which the law of the land prescribes. Her only desire is, that she may either be treated as innocent or proved to be guilty.

"The Princess desires Mr. Speaker to communicate this letter to the House of Commons."

These communications created a very great sensation in the House; and, after a considerable pause, Mr. Whitbread rose, and observed that he had waited in the hope of seeing some honourable member, more competent than himself rise, in his place, and make some proposition to the House upon that which the speaker had just communicated. But he felt it to be a subject of such importance, not only to the illustrious personage immediately concerned, but to other persons as regarding the share they took in the transaction; but above all, of the utmost importance as regarding the nation at large, that it was impossible such a communication would be made to the House, and be suffered to pass in silence. He had waited until he saw the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh) in his place, as that noble lord was one of the confidential ministers of the crown when the Reports were originally taken into the consideration of his Majesty's council, then acting under the popular name of the Cabinet Council. He had waited until he saw that noble lord in his place who stood in the peculiar

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situation then as the confidential adviser of the crown; and as the noble lord now filled the same situation, as one of the confidential ministers of the crown, the noble lord must have been one of the members of that Privy Council to whom the matter had been lately referred. He had waited, therefore, till he saw the noble lord in his place; and he had further waited, before he rose to address the chair, in the hope, that the noble lord would have made some proposition to the House on this most important subject; but perceiving neither the noble lord, nor any other honourable member, inclined to rise, he begged leave to ask the noble lord, whether it was or was not his intention to call the attention of the House on that subject.

Lord Castlereagh then rose, and said, from the importance and delicacy of the subject, and the manner in which it was communicated to the House, he did not feel himself called upon to make any proposition to the house; the more especially, as an honourable member had fixed the day after to-morrow for a motion to which this letter appeared to apply; he therefore did not think it necessary for him to interfere. Whatever might be the importance or delicacy of the transaction of which the honourable member had given notice, it would impose upon him (Lord Castlereagh) the necessity of giving a full explanation; and, until that time did arrive, he felt he should best fulfil his duty by not anticipating any proceeding upon the subject.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the honourable

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gentleman (Mr. Cochrane Johnstone) who had given that advice was not then in the House; but as the letter just read originated with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, it might be proper that the House should know how far the honourable gentleman had acted in concurrence with the wishes of her Royal Highness; and it might be expedient that the honourable gentleman should inform the House upon what grounds he proceeded, whether with or without any concurrence on the part of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and, therefore, he imagined the House would feel it expedient to make her Royal Highness's communication the grounds of substantive consideration—but, in the absence of the honourable gentleman, it was impossible for the House to come to any definite conclusion.

Here the matter, for that time, dropped. Lord Castlereagh left the House, and, in a very short time, the treasury benches were almost entirely deserted.

Her Royal Highness, at the time she wrote to the speaker of the House of Commons, wrote also a similar letter to the lord-chancellor; but his lordship conceived it to be his duty to withhold it from the House of Lords.

It was said, that his lordship returned her Royal Highness's letter, with a note, stating, that his lordship found himself under the necessity of returning the letter of her Royal Highness, which he "thought it his duty to advise the Princess, from

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considerations of propriety, as well as safety, not to make public." The letter concluded with the information, that "by command of the Prince Regent, the visits of her Royal Highness to Walton House, were in future to be discontinued."

This most insulting and degrading communication—this new outrage on her parental feelings—was resented by her Royal Highness with becoming spirit. She immediately wrote to the lord chancellor, expressing her great surprise at both the matter and the manner of his letter, particularly as to the *care for her safety* which his lordship affected to feel, assuring him that he need be under no apprehension on that account, "as the Constitution and laws of England were her safeguard." Her letter concluded by giving his lordship to understand, that "in future, her Royal Highness requested to receive no more letters from him, except when signed by his lordship in his character of one of the privy council." This well-merited reproof had, for a time, its proper effect; but it did not cause her former communications to be laid before the House of Lords, as it ought to have been.

The 4th of March, 1818, was appointed for Mr Cochrane Johnstone's motion in the House of Commons; and so great was the interest excited by it, that, at an early hour, the gallery of the House was completely filled, as well as all the avenues leading to it. The confusion created by this intimation of the public feeling, caused the speaker to order the gallery to be cleared by the serjeant at

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arms. When peace had in some measure been restored, Mr. Johnstone arose for the purpose of making his motion, when he was interrupted by Mr. Tyrgon, who immediately moved the standing order that strangers do withdraw, and the gallery was again cleared. Many peers who had taken their seats under the gallery were also excluded. This unexpected measure caused Mr. Bennett to move an immediate adjournment; and Mr. Johnstone declined to make his promised motion; but reserved his right to bring it forward on a future day.

Mr. C. Wynne then put a question to Lord Castlereagh, requesting to know whether it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to found any proceeding on the letter of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to the speaker.

To this Lord Castlereagh replied, that he should give the honourable gentleman the same answer he had given to Mr. Whitbread; that whenever the question was brought regularly before the House, he would give whatever explanation might be required of him, consistent with his own sense of duty, on that subject; but he did not think it was the duty of ministers to found any measure on the letter of her Royal Highness.

Mr. Whitbread said, that whatever they might think, he felt it to be a duty which ministers owed to the Princess of Wales, to that House, to which she had appealed, and to the country at large, to give a full and ample explanation of all those pro-

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ceedings which had created the necessity of that appeal. He particularly stated that this duty was the more incumbent upon them, as he found by a report, which could no longer be kept secret, as it was published, and professed to be signed by twenty-two members of the privy council, that those proceedings involved her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, and the most important interests of the state, so as, in fact, to preclude all intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte. This was a decision and a proceeding which every one must feel to be highly derogatory to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and that, in fact, it amounted to a condemnation, against which she had appealed to that House, and, through that House, to the whole country, which, from its characteristic generosity, and love of justice, would expect to be perfectly satisfied, that full justice had been done her, as her appeal to that House was founded upon a total ignorance of any proceeding upon the subject whatever.

With respect to the noble lord (Castlereagh) Mr. Whitbread said it was particularly incumbent upon him to render the utmost explanation possible. It was a duty which he owed to the House, and to the state, because it was known that his lordship was a member of that administration, as also was the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Canning, who had entered into an investigation of the Princess of Wales's conduct in 1806 and 1807; which in-

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vestigation ended to the honour of the Princess of Wales, and was a perfect acquittal,—an acquittal by most of those whose names were attached attesting her condemnation; and, on the same principles, it was more incumbent on the noble lord (Castlereagh) to reconcile these wide extremes in the result of two investigations, on the same measure of evidence, and before the same parties, as he manifestly stood personally prominent, in great responsibility, under a most extraordinary and unparalleled admixture of character, as accuser and evidence, as judge and accuser, and all ultimately mixed and separated, as best suited the final issue in view. He should therefore repeat, it was most extraordinary, that before the tribunal of popular opinion, in a case so singular, and unprecedented, implicating and involving the most important interests of the state, as studiously specified in the Report, that his lordship, as a public servant, should hesitate to satisfy the nation, and the loud calls of public justice, by the most ample details of all the evidence which had been taken on a subject so important, involving the state interests, and the character of an illustrious individual of the first rank and station in the empire.

The House, Mr. Whitbread stated, would recollect, as soon as the Princess of Wales's letter was read from the chair, after a pause, which gave any other member an opportunity to rise, finding no one did so, he then asked the noble lord whether

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it was his intention to afford the explanations which became then more immediately necessary. So forcibly did it strike his mind that the noble lord would be prepared with them, that he could not think it possible they would be refused. He then thought that his Majesty's ministers would have influenced the House to have instituted a proceeding on the appeal of the Princess of Wales; and it would be recollected, that with that view he called upon the honourable gentleman, whose motion stood for that day, to withdraw it, in order to remove all impediment of a proceeding on the part of ministers. Had that been done, and ministers had still declined it, he would himself have made such a proposition, and have called upon the House for their support, as, under such circumstances, he should have felt it to be his duty. As it now stood he was still debarred, as the honourable gentleman (Mr. Johnstone) had, under the impulse of the moment, postponed his motion *sine die*. He concluded by saying, that the call upon his Majesty's ministers was, by these circumstances, more imperative than ever to satisfy the natural expectations of the country, and the ordinary principles of justice.

Notwithstanding Mr. Whitbread's very forcible and reasonable appeal, Lord Castlereagh still persisted in his determination to maintain an obdurate silence on this important subject. His lordship said, he still saw no reason whatever to change the

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sentiments he had already avowed to both the honourable gentlemen opposite.

Some conversation, of a desultory nature, next ensued, after which it was agreed that the motion for adjournment should be withdrawn; and Mr. Johnstone renewed his notice for Friday, the 6th of March.

On that day the House met accordingly; when Mr. Lygon, with a pertinacity not very creditable to his feelings or his judgment, again moved the standing order for the removal of strangers.

Upon this Mr. Johnstone observed, that it was certainly the privilege, and the right, if he saw proper, for the honourable member to persist in this line of conduct respecting the standing orders of the House; but that Mr. Lygon laboured under a false impression, if he thought that any thing he (Mr. Johnstone) had to say would be unbecoming the respect he had to that House, or inconsistent with what was due to the feelings of every branch of the royal family.

In the first instance, he thought it a duty which he owed to the Princess of Wales to declare, that he had received no instructions whatever from her Royal Highness on the subject, but that he acted entirely on the impressions and suggestions of his own mind, without consulting any person whatever.

It was well known, he observed, that, in the year 1806, a commission had been granted by the King to four noble lords, Grenville, Spencer, Erskine,

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and Ellenborough, to examine into certain allegations that had been preferred against the Princess of Wales.

He then read the Report, with which the reader is already acquainted; and afterwards proceeded to state, that he would next read a document, which he was ready to prove, at the bar of that House, was dictated by Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, though signed by the Princess of Wales. This was the justly celebrated and extensive letter already given at length in a recent part of the present volume; a document which has ever since stood as a lasting monument of sound reasoning and most cogent argumentation. This letter, long as it was, the honourable member read throughout, and then proceeded to observe, that he fully concurred in the sentiments it expressed upon the subject of the commission; and he insisted that the charge against the Princess of Wales, before that tribunal, by Sir John and Lady Douglas, was nothing short of *treason*; that if the Commissioners had power to acquit her Royal Highness of the crime charged, they had equally the power to convict her; and he asked, what was the state of that country where such a thing was even possible? Besides, he inquired, what became of Sir John and Lady Douglas? If he were rightly informed, they still persisted in the same story—if all they maintained were so notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted?

The honourable member then went on to remark,

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that the understood the proceedings of the late prince until, except the Report, had been transmitted to the Princess of Wales. This was the case in 1806, but he submitted that copies of all these examinations should be given to her.

Mr. Johnstone concluded an energetic speech by moving, first, a very long resolution, containing nearly the whole of the Report of the Commissioners in 1806, with his own reasoning upon the illegality of such a commission, and terminating with expressing the expediency of a new and different trial of, or inquiry into, the same subject. The second motion was for a variety of papers, from 1806 to the present time, connected with this business.

Lord Castlereagh strongly opposed the motion, and observed upon the singular line of conduct adopted by the honourable mover, in first calling upon the House to agree with him in all the facts stated in his first resolution, and then asking for information on the same subject in his second motion. At all events, said his lordship, the information ought to have preceded the conclusions from it. His lordship could not conceive, from any reasons that had been given by the honourable member, that the House would entertain any serious doubt that the papers called for by the honourable mover were not at all necesary to remove any apprehension as to the succession to the throne of these kingdoms. The Commissioners of 1806 had not been commissioners for the trial of the Princess, but, as privy counsellors, commissioners of inquiry;

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and that the appointment of such privy councillors for such purpose, was the constant practice in all periods of the history of this country. If, however, the honourable speaker was serious in his opinion, that the commission of 1806 was an improper tribunal to have reviewed the conduct of the Princess of Wales, did he think the House of Commons a place to try either the Princess of Wales for treason, or to sit in judgment upon the levity of her manners? It was rather extraordinary in the honourable member to call upon the House of Commons to clear up the doubts on a subject where he had expressed no doubts of his own. The two learned judges who were part of the Commissioners, Lord Castlereagh said, had entertained no doubts: they, with all their skill, and legal habits, had been able to trace the whole transaction to its source. It was not a judgment upon the credibility of the witnesses only; not upon the inconsistency alone of Lady Douglas's testimony; for the real mother of the child, Ann Austin, was adduced, and its birth, with every circumstance attending it, had been clearly proved to the commission. This Report, too, of the Commissioners, with all the evidence

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I know not whether his lordship still retains this sentiment or not; but if he does, I should suppose that it is at variance with the opinion of most of his colleagues now in office; for it is evident that his Majesty's ministers in the Upper House of Parliament are persuaded that the House of Commons, in conjunction, of course, with the Peers, may try a much higher character than a Princess of Wales for either high treason, or for that which amounts to nearly the same thing; and that they may "sit in judgment upon the levity of the manners" even of the Queen herself.

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on which it was founded, had been referred to his Majesty's then ministers, and they, upon oath, had unanimously confirmed that Report. This was stated till the same Report and evidence had been referred to the subsequent administration, and they, in like manner, had unanimously, on their oaths, declared the innocence of her Royal Highness.

I cannot proceed with this abstract of his lordship's speech without noticing the apparent want of candour in insinuating that the ministers to whom he last refers had contented themselves with simply confirming the original Report. His lordship had he referred to the minute of the council on that subject, would have discovered, that the privy council who signed that minute, amongst whom we find his lordship's own name, had gone much farther in exculpating the Princess of Wales than either the four noble lords, or those members of his Majesty's council who, in 1807, professed to agree in their opinion. In the first instance, notwithstanding the complete acquittal of her Royal Highness of what the Commissioners, curiously enough, call the *two* main charges, — pregnancy and delivery, as if it were one crime to be *pregnant* and another to be *delivered*—notwithstanding this acquittal, added, that there were certain "circumstances of conduct" which called for his Majesty's serious consideration and admonition, and resting upon evidence that could not be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and could not well be doubted

until they had received some decisive contradiction. Now, it is in the reader's recollection, that this was the fact; and that her Royal Highness did so decisively contradict the testimony of Bidgood, Cole, and Fanny Lloyd, as to convince every honest reader, that their evidence rested on no better a foundation than that of either of the Douglas's; and such, it would appear, was the conviction of the "subsequent administration" to which Lord Castlereagh alluded; for the minute of council, above referred to, not only confirms the Report of the four noble lords, and the opinion of his Majesty's "then ministers," respecting the Douglas perjuries, but distinctly puts it upon record, that "*all* other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, are satisfactorily contradicted, or *rest upon evidence*, of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of his Majesty's confidential servants, *undeserving of credit.*" That is, that not a single act of criminality was proved to the satisfaction of those ministers, Lord Castlereagh and others! How then could his lordship content himself with saying, that he and his colleagues in office had, "in like manner," with those who had confirmed *all* that the four noble lords had reported, merely added their sworn testimony to the same Report!

We may now proceed with the abstract of his lordship's speech. His lordship declared that he

did not mean to say, if any great doubt could be entertained by his Majesty's subjects on this important and delicate question, some declaration to Parliament, as to the succession, might not become necessary; but when such doubts had been so repeatedly negatived, would it not, he asked, be giving a sort of weight and authority to the evidence of Lady Douglas? If the affidavits of profligate persons where thus to be sanctioned, where would be the end of their attempts? Fortunately there never was a case that could excite so little hesitation. A more monstrous proposition, than to legislate on Lady Douglas's evidence, was never heard.—The honourable mover had complained that no proceedings had been instituted against Sir John and Lady Douglas. His lordship had to state, that the first cabinet distinctly recommended a reference to the then law officers of the crown, to consider of such a prosecution; and, if it had not been instituted, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of those law officers as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the *degraded* and *guilty heads* of Sir John and Lady Douglas, but it was from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public.

Such was the answer which my Lord Castlereagh is reported to have made to the pressing questions of Mr. Whitbread—an answer that acquits her Royal Highness of all guilt, heaps the utmost opprobrium on the characters of her *degraded* and *guilty* accusers, but which artfully evades all

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answer to the great points aimed at by those who zealously espoused the cause of her Royal Highness still suffering as a guilty, though in fact an acquitted person.

Sir Samuel Romilly, in a short speech, vindicated the characters of the four commissioners in 1806, and contended, as well as he was able, for the legality of that commission, on which the minute of council, when the whigs had been removed, appeared to express some doubt.

Mr. Whitbread then rose, and with his usual energy of expression and earnestness of manner, proceeded to observe, that he could not support the motion of the honourable mover, for reasons which would hereafter appear. He then reminded Lord Castlereagh, that on a former occasion, his lordship had stated, that when the honourable member should produce his motion that night, he would then furnish all the information that was necessary regarding the late letter. His lordship had not so far favoured the House, and, therefore, if the motion went off, and nothing was said of this letter, the Princess of Wales was most unhappily and unfortunately situated. The noble lord talked of poisoning the public mind by publishing the case, and the just demands of the Princess of Wales; he knew only by public rumour that the letter written by the Princess of Wales, in September or October 1806, to the King, calling so emphatically for publicity, and a more fair tribunal, had been dictated by Lord Eldon, by Mr. Perceval, and by

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Sir Thomas Plomer. The fact had been often asserted in the presence of Mr. Perceval, and he had never denied it. The last person named (Sir Thomas Plomer) now sat opposite, and might deny it if he could.

Mr. Whitbread then put it to Lord Castlereagh, if it was not known to him, that all that had been said by the honourable mover, age, more, and much more, had been printed by Mr. Perceval, Lord Eldon, and the cabinet, of which he (the noble lord) was one, for the satisfaction not only of England, but of all Europe. He inquired if garbled accounts of this transaction were not now published to the world under the authority of the present cabinet.

Mr. Whitbread, after these developing questions, entered into a narrative of the letter which her Royal Highness had recently caused to be sent to the Prince Regent. This letter, he remarked, had been twice returned unopened; the Princess then only required that her petition (for such it in fact was) might be read to his Royal Highness. This favour was at length granted, and a cold answer was sent from the minister, stating that the Prince had nothing to say. Then, after twice returning the letter unopened, and refusing to say any thing in reply when it was opened, it at last met the public eye. Ministers advised the Regent to summon a privy council; and then came the most extraordinary conduct on the part of Lords Castlereagh and Eldon: they refer, not to the recent

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conduct of her Royal Highness, but to her conduct in 1806; and for such conduct she is to be punished, and not for any thing done by her in 1807, 1808, 1809, or any subsequent year. "Then," exclaimed this powerful pleader and close reasoner, "under what circumstances stand their famous proceedings of 1806, for which alone her Royal Highness is to be punished? *All* the witnesses against her are perjured and blasted! it is so admitted by the noble lord, and yet he and Lord Eldon mix up this old hash of evidence as the only testimony that could be found to affect the Princess of Wales! But was not this famous evidence of 1806 laid before the Prince's legal advisers, Mr. Adam, Mr. Garrow, and Mr. Jekyll? I wish to know how the last insidious paragraph of that opinion came before the public; whether it was not so made public from authority? Again: had not the cabinet of 1807 all the evidence given in 1806 before it, and the legal opinion of the Prince's lawyers I have just referred to into the bargain, when their verdict of unqualified acquittal was given? From this verdict they now seem to shrink, because the evidence is stale, and forgotten."

Mr. Whitbread now read the minute of council, which I have given on a former page; and which, as he properly observed, seemed to doubt the legality of the commission of inquiry of 1806; yet, observed Mr. Whitbread, these very noble lords now go back to those same proceedings of 1806 as their only guide.

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I cannot avoid a short interruption of this excellent speech of Mr. Whitbread's, just to notice the very remarkable consistency in the uniform line of attack upon our late beloved and greatly oppressed Queen. In July, 1806, her conduct is privately investigated, by a kind of "secret committee" of cabinet ministers, as four out of the fourteen composing his Majesty's cabinet council were appointed for that purpose. This secret tribunal pronounce a verdict of acquittal, as to the main charge, but leave a stain upon the character of her Royal Highness, of levity of conduct, amounting even to some degree of absolute criminality. In January, 1807, nearly the whole cabinet council, including the four noble lords of the first commission, or, as I call it, "the secret committee," again sat in judgment on the Princess of Wales, and gave their opinion, not only on the original Report, but also on the Answer which her Royal Highness had put in against the charges of levity, &c. contained in that Report. These old and new judges, of course, confirmed their former opinions, and still left a disgraceful slur on the character of the accused, although they saw no reason why his Majesty should any longer decline receiving his daughter-in-law at court. Now, what was the next step taken by his Majesty's cabinet ministers? This very measure mentioned by Mr. Whitbread; but a change had taken place; Lord Ellenborough alone remained of her first judges, and he did not sign the minute I am alluding to;

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but Lords Castlereagh and Eldon did, and they acquit her Royal Highness of *all* criminality and guilt whatever, leaving her character wholly unsullied; and all her accusers "undeserving of credit." This important document was signed April 22d, 1807; yet in 1813 these same lords repeated the original charge of levity of conduct against her Royal Highness; and now, in 1809, they again, by the sanction which it is notorious they give to certain public journals, reiterate that odious charge; forgetting, or despising, their own solemn verdict of complete acquittal!

Well might Mr. Whitbread, in the speech which I have above abbreviated, ask the noble lords, Eldon and Castlereagh, whether they meant to escape from their words. "There never was," he added, "a verdict of *not guilty* like this. Is it to be permitted to go back to evidence given before this sentence of acquittal, and to produce a new verdict of guilty? Was ever woman so triumphant? Let the public recollect, that no one act has ever passed since 1807, that the active breath of slander has dared to bring against the Princess of Wales."

The honourable member then read the late Report, and proceeded to observe, that the noble lord had taunt ingly asserted that the Princess of Wales had, doubtless, some legal adviser, or some friend, within those walls, who would be found to advocate her cause. It *had* been so. She *had* a powerful legal adviser in that House, in the late Mr. Per-

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ceval. Many, too, of the most able men in the country, in the House, and out of it, had been her friends and advisers; among whom he could name Lord Eldon, Sir Thomas Plomer, and Sir William Scott. It was due to the memory of Mr. Perceval to state, that, to his dying day, he always publicly proclaimed the innocence of the Princess; but, as for other surviving friends, *they were mute*. No doubt the Princess had her legal adviser, and who would never shrink from the responsibility of the duties of his station, or disown his being such adviser, to him who had any right to put that question. For himself, in performing what he did, he could not call himself the friend of the Princess of Wales, but the friend of justice. Was her Royal Highness, at least, not entitled to the common courtesy belonging to her sex? Had she attempted more than had been done in the brutal reign of Henry VIII. by the unfortunate Anu Boleyn, who asked to be declared innocent, or proved guilty?

Mr. Whitbread concluded his speech, amidst the most rapturous shouts of applause, by moving, as an amendment, for the production of the Report recently made by the individuals selected from the privy council.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, maintained that the honourable member had not laid any parliamentary grounds for his amendment, not having shown what course of proceeding he would adopt if the Report should be laid on the table; and, therefore, he should oppose his motion.

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Sir Thomas Plomer, said, that though he was personally called upon, or alluded to, he did not know whether he was expected to defend himself against a charge for having been an adviser of the Princess, or for not being any longer her adviser. As to the first point, he had to say, he was commanded in 1806, to attend her Royal Highness at Blackheath, to assist in defending her Royal Highness from the charge at that time made against her. Did he do wrong, he asked, in not withholding that advice? As to the second point, was it expected he should tell what advice he had given?

Thus ingeniously (or, as in darker periods of our history it would have been denominated, jesuitically) did Sir Thomas evade the question respecting the part he had taken in the defence of her Royal Highness in 1806; and thus did he turn aside the charge that might justly have been alleged against him for the inconsistent silence he manifested in the present instance.

Mr. Brand said, he was disappointed at the speech he had just heard. He expected to have heard some reply to the allusions made to the learned gentleman. In his opinion, circumstances had come out which made him think the country was exposed to difficulty and danger. The noble lord had made no satisfactory reply to his honourable friend, Mr. Whitbread. It was not enough to say, that the Regent had the sole prerogative of educating his daughter. Statements had been handed about in which it was said the Princess

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was accused by suborned witnesses, and to suffer matters to rest here was a denial of justice to the Princess. For this reason he would support the amendment of his honourable friend.

Mr. Wortley rose, and said he felt warmly on this occasion, as a man of honour and a gentleman; but he could not vote, either for the original motion, or the amendment. He must, at the same time, say, it was not the speech of the noble lord that induced him to come to this determination; for his lordship had left the points which were most material in the discussion without any answer. He considered this a most galling and disgraceful subject; no less than dragging the royal family before the House. The true question was, whether the ministers had done their duty, first to their King; and, secondly, to their country. In his opinion, the four Commissioners, first appointed in 1806, had gone farther than they were required to do—those Commissioners were to examine into a charge of one kind only; but, from the evidence brought to support this, they formed another, and thus exceeded their jurisdiction. If their Report was only to go to the King, this circumstance would not have been material; but as it was to go to the Princess it was sure to be productive of such difficulties as no woman could submit to, without complaining of the imputations that were cast upon her.

But passing over this Report, the next to be considered was that of 1807, which was *a complete acquittal, as to every point*. This the noble lord

had not denied in his speech; but the ministers of that day not only acquitted her Royal Highness, but went further, and advised his Majesty to receive the Princess at court. With such a report in existence, why was it necessary to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to take up documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to regulate the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter? documents in creating which the noble lord had himself been formerly a party. If, instead of such an unjustifiable proceeding, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent had been advised to say, "I am the father of this child, and I will act as a father is empowered to do—I am Prince of these realms, and I will exercise my perogative of educating the successor to the throne"—the country would have been satisfied, in his opinion, as he did not conceive the Princess was so popular as to fear that such advice would not have been universally approved of.

The honourable gentleman said he had as high feelings for royalty as any man; but, he must say, that all proceedings like these had a tendency to pull it down. He was very sorry we had a family who do not take warning from what is said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability. He would not have the Regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct will bear him harmless through all these transactions. He

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said this with no disrespect to him or his family: no man was more attached to the house of Brunswick than he was; but if he had a sister in the same situation, he should think her extremely ill-treated.

Sir Samuel Romilly said that the honourable member was mistaken as to the power intrusted to the Commissioners in 1806; but made very few observations on the question before the House.

Some farther debate took place, after which Mr. Johnstone's motion was put, and negatived without a division.

The resolutions moved by Mr. Johnstone were only two in number; but the first was very long, embracing many of the facts connected with the Commissioners of 1806, and the Report made by those noble lords, and endeavouring to show, if not even the illegality, at least the invalidity of that proceeding, and the necessity of a new, and more efficient inquiry.

The second resolution was, that an "address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying for a copy of the Report of the four Commissioners made to his Majesty on the 14th of July, 1806, with the copies of the documents annexed to that Report."

The following fact is of a very singular and extraordinary nature. The severe reflections cast upon the evidence and character of Sir John and Lady Douglas during the various parliamentary debates that had taken place on this subject, ex-

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cited the high indignation of that gallant general, and induced him to make a strong remonstrance with Lord Castlereagh, and other members of his Majesty's council, adding, that he had reason to complain more particularly of their conduct, as he and his lady, the very evening before, had been again examined by the Prince Regent's Ministers; Sir John Douglas, with much reason, expresses his surprise, that the very man who, in 1807, had pronounced them to be utterly unworthy of belief, should, on the 4th of March, 1813, think fit again to examine them, and thereby appear to give them credit for some integrity; and yet, on the very next day, to speak of them in the most contumelious strains of invective. Certainly there appeared something strange and mysterious in this conduct of the ministers, and indicates a strong desire that Sir John and Lady Douglas should have every possible opportunity afforded them of clearing their own characters and defaming that of the Princess of Wales. This anxiety, however, to criminate her Royal Highness had one good effect; it tended, it would seem, stronger and stronger, to expose the vile characters and principles of her accusers, and to exhibit their guilt of perjury in a still more conspicuous light.

And this was uniformly the case whenever her late Majesty was accused, and the accusation thoroughly sifted. *Inquiry* ought to have been a somewhat favourite word with her Majesty, beset as she always was, after her unfortunate marriage,

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by enemies and slanderers. From every fresh investigation, it appeared that her accusers were persons of ambiguous, if not of loose, and even depraved, character. The final result of the last investigation, showed, like all the rest, that nothing of importance was said against her by any witness whose evidence did not bear strong features of suspicion, and whose moral principles do not seem to be of a very bad and dishonourable nature.

The reflections on the character of Sir John Douglas, to which I have above alluded, produced the following notes to Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Whitbread; notes which wear the aspect of threat or intimidation:—

"Major-General Sir John Douglas requests to know from Lord Castlereagh, as a man of honour, whether he, in his place, in the House of Commons, on Friday evening, declared his wife to be a perjured person, and upon what ground he founded his accusation?"

Sir John Douglas must have been a simpleton to suppose that Lord Castlereagh would make an avowal out of the House of words spoken by him whilst exercising his privilege of speaking freely in the House. To the above note his lordship returned the following answer:—

"Lord Castlereagh deems it his duty to decline giving to Major-General Sir John Douglas any explanation of proceedings in which he has felt himself obliged to concur, when acting by his Majesty's command, in discharge of his functions as a privy councellor, or in the explanation of them to the House of Commons."

This reply is evidently of a very guarded and excusatory nature; it betrays an unwillingness further to offend Sir John Douglas, though his lord-

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ship, in the heat of debate, had declared Sir John and his lady to have been *degraded* and *guilty* characters. His lordship, however, here seems to offer some apology to Sir John, seeing that whatever he had said or done was merely in obedience to duties imposed upon him by the command of the King.*

Mr. Whitbread's reply to a similar note from Sir John was rather of a more spirited and decisive nature: he says,

Major-General Sir John Douglas's question to Mr. Whitbread is founded upon words attributed to him to have been spoken in his place in Parliament; Mr. Whitbread is, therefore, under the necessity of declining all answer to that question."

In this reply Mr. Whitbread acted with becoming spirit and propriety. It was preposterous in Sir John Douglas to make the request he did.

* The impunity and favor enjoyed by Sir John and his lady, drew forth in March, 1812, an expression of strong public feeling, which, from a rumour current of fresh accusations against the Princess, bore against a high female personage since deceased, in the state. This supposed favor and impunity were, it was apprehended, calculated to encourage further attempts against the mother of the heiress to the British throne; it was also considered as having a tendency to invalidate and render unavailing her acquittal. The public found itself reduced to the painful alternative of attributing cruelty and injustice to the one party, or guilt, in despite of acquittal, to the other. It was stated by Lord Thurlow, that the charge of the Douglases "equally affected the welfare of the state, and the honor of a distinguished individual—that such a report, unless its falsehood were to be *clearly* and *fully* exposed, might endanger the tranquillity of the state, and afford some wicked pretence for a disputed succession to the throne."

But Sir John and his lady not only enjoyed impunity, but the former received after these events his highest military promotion; and distinguished military honors were, on his decease, lavished on his funeral. His lady, also, till driven, it is believed, from the kingdom by the popular voice, was received in high circles; while the Princess, though acquitted, though the mother of the heiress to the throne, and the favoured daughter-in-law of the king, was prevented from appearing publicly at court.

Carlisle Journal, August 18, 1821.

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In order to connect the several facts relative to Sir John and Lady Douglas, it will be needful, in this place, to give a detail of the proceedings in Parliament on the motion for the prosecution of that slanderous woman, as those proceedings appear in the public journals of the day; and also of the subsequent petition of Sir John Douglas to the House of Commons.

On Monday evening, March 16, Mr. Whitbread, being in his place in the House of Commons, and having inquired if Lord Castlereagh would be there also, rose, and said, "I am desirous to put one or two questions to the noble lord opposite, on a subject, which, I had hoped, the discussions which took place in this House on the week before last had set for ever at rest. But the tumult and indignation excited by things recently published—the disgust created by disclosures made in two newspapers under the influence of the government—the rumours and communications respecting me and the noble lord, which have come forth, leave no ground for the supposition that matters can rest where they now are, but, on the contrary, show that they must come to a crisis. Under these circumstances, I rise to ask the noble lord, whether the Prince Regent, under advice, has given any notice to the law officers of the crown to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury? I also desire the noble lord to inform me, if he knows, or, if he does not know, I require the information from any other honourable member who may be able to supply me with it:—I desire to know, if Lady Douglas has, between the 12th of

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February and the 5th of March, been examined by the solicitor of the treasury, and before a magistrate, in the presence of Sir John Douglas? I desire to know, from the noble lord, or from any other gentleman who may know the fact, whether or not these examinations have been continued, and are still going on? And I put these questions with the view, if I am answered by the noble lord, or by others, of giving notice of the proceedings which I may deem it right to institute on the subject."

Lord Castlereagh said, "I am sure the House would feel that I was guilty of a dereliction of my duty, were I to answer to the honourable gentleman, unless I knew the nature of the proceedings which it may be his intention to pursue."

Mr. Whitbread.—"I have no objection to satisfy the noble lord upon this point. I think the Princess of Wales must either be brought to trial, or Lady Douglas be prosecuted for perjury. The Princess of Wales came to this House, and threw herself on the wisdom of Parliament; and, notwithstanding the means taken to prevent it, the whole discussion that ensued upon that occasion has gone forth, and is known to the world. The declaration of her innocence by the noble lord is known. Sir John Douglas, in consequence of this, waited upon me, and upon the noble lord, and his application and my answer (not from me, for I furnished no copy of it to any one) have been published in the public papers. When he called upon me, Sir John Douglas told me that he conceived he and Lady Douglas were treated with the greatest hardship,

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as Lady Douglas had been examined as a witness on the very eve of the day in which the noble lord had declared her to be a perjured and degraded woman. Sir John Douglas also told me of the depositions before the magistrate, to which I have alluded; and that himself and Lady Douglas still persisted in the truth of their statements respecting the Princess of Wales. He also informed me that he meant to approach this House; upon which I observed, that I was sure no member of Parliament would refuse to present his petition. As to the second question, whether the Prince Regent, under advice, has instructed the law officers of the crown to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury, I am sure the Princess of Wales must be considered to be innocent by all the world, and by the noble lord and the Prince Regent; but if not, I am sure that her guilt ought not to be made apparent through newspapers, but by a message from the throne to Parliament. This, under any circumstances, would be incumbent on ministers, but it would be peculiarly incumbent on them, placed as the Prince was in being Regent, if guilt can be imputed, to connect with the charge directly to the Parliament. If I find that they do not prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury, I shall deem it my duty to move, "That an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, to give instructions to his law officers to found that proceeding on such part of her testimony, in 1806, as may appear justly liable to that accusation."

Lord Castlereagh acknowledged that the honourable gentleman had candidly stated his opinions,

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and added, "This statement has confirmed me in the determination, that it is my duty not to answer his questions, nor to afford any further information on the topics he has urged, until they are regularly brought under the consideration of the House."

Mr. Whitbread said, "The noble lord has satisfied himself that he has done his duty in refusing to answer me. I addressed my questions to other gentlemen, if there were any present capable of giving me information. The noble lord has declined answering me. I now repeat my questions, and put them to others. I ask, first, if the Prince Regent has, under advice, given instructions to the law officers to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury? I ask, secondly, if Lady Douglas has been examined by the solicitor of the treasury, and a magistrate, from the 12th of February to the 5th of March, that very day on which the noble lord, in his place, declared her to be a perjured and degraded woman? And I ask, thirdly, if not of the noble lord, (as I am not sure he possesses a competent knowledge on that point, Sir John Douglas having informed me he stated to him he was not acquainted with it,) of others, to whom I put it, whether, since the 5th of March, examinations into old matter, or new proof of criminality, have, or have not been instituted? If I receive no answer from the noble lord, who thinks it his duty to deny me, or from any other honourable persons, I will content myself with doing my duty, and will, on Wednesday next, execute my purpose of moving

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for an address, to the effect I have already stated, to the Prince Regent. I am certain that the public mind cannot bear to be contaminated, as it has been, or endure the ferment that is excited. I am certain that it will demand justice on the Princess of Wales, if guilty, or upon those who have accused her, if she be innocent."

Lord Castlereagh said, "I see no reason, nor will any reason, nor will any remarks of the honourable gentleman, force me to depart from the course I have laid down for my conduct, which I would not be warranted in doing by any public reports adduced by the honourable gentleman. With respect, however, to disclosures, and the injury done to public feelings, the honourable gentleman will permit me to say, that the responsibility of all rests upon those who first originated the production of these documents.—The honourable gentleman himself has deeply to answer for these things which he thus condemns. He was the first to read and publish garbled extracts and statements of documents which ought not to have been read at all—but which being read, and making a partial impression on the public, the whole injury resulting from them, and other productions consequent upon them, is to be attributed to the original authors of any disclosures."

Mr. Whitbread said (with warmth), "I read the minute of the cabinet, the Portland cabinet, the minute to which the name of the noble lord is affixed.—I read it entirely, and garbled no part—I omitted no word in it—I read it because I thought

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it necessary; neither was it a secret document; it was printed by Mr. Perceval, and was in the possession of hundreds; I garbled not; but I recorded the verdict of acquittal: which had been given. And will the noble lord draw any parallel between the publication of such documents as those to which I have alluded, in the public newspapers, and the reading, by a member of this House in his place, of a declaration of innocence? These documents come forth to the country through the medium of two papers, known to be well affected towards the existing administration: they are published in the Morning Herald and in the Morning Post upon the same day, with comments in the latter, as if the Princess of Wales was brought before the tribunal of the editor; the other is the property of a person who has lately received honours from the Prince Regent, and is known to hold frequent intercourse with Carlton House. But the noble lord now charges me with reading the cabinet minute—he made no complaint at the time I read it—(Lord Castlereagh said across the table "I did"). Did you? I beg your pardon—I do not recollect it—it had escaped me. But be that as it may, there is a main difference between this recital of a declaration of innocence, and such publications as those, which, after acquittal, load the innocent with ignominy. I am not the adviser of the publication of the Princess of Wales's letter, or of any of the subsequent publications; but I know, if a person has no other resource from oppression, it is no misdemeanor to

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resort to this; I know that it was the last resource of that oppressed person, who is so till she is convicted of being guilty. Her Royal Highness has declared that she was not aware of this publication. All that I know is, that this illustrious person comes to Parliament, and calls upon it to pronounce her guilty, or treat her as innocent. I know that there is no message sent to Parliament from authority, which would and ought to have been done if guilt could be imputed."

Lord Castereagh said; "Now I know the honourable gentleman's view of the matter, I am the more confirmed in the propriety of declining to reply to his questions. I did charge him (I do not mean the word in an offensive sense), I did complain at the time he read the minute, not that he garbled that document, but that the reading of that document itself, unconnected with others, conveyed a garbled statement, in the constitutional sense, of the whole course of the proceedings. I complained of his reading the minute of the Duke of Portland's cabinet, without also taking into view antecedent proceedings, as calculated to make on the public mind an impression not proper, if the documents were considered altogether. That minute is only intelligible with a reference to the minute of Lord Grenville's cabinet. The honourable gentleman is not correct in thinking that any state document was printed by Mr. Perceval—the Book contained only the evidence and strictures upon it, and the defence of the accused. It con-

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tained an act of state, and the honourable gentleman is the first on whose head the responsibility rests, of having given publicity to any act of the government in this affair."

Mr. Whitbread.—"On my head be it. On my head be it that I made the first attempt to vindicate the Princess of Wales. On my head be the responsibility for all I have done—on the head of others the responsibility for all they have done; and on the head of the noble lord the responsibility for refusing to answer the questions I have put to him. I assure the noble lord I will not take offence at any of his expressions, for I am sure they are not meant personally, however warmly we may feel interested in arguing this case. But I will ask him, after the declaration made of the innocence of the Princess of Wales by a cabinet minister—(I believe Mr. Perceval)—after what was stated the other night by the Attorney-General, in his place—after reading the minute of acquittal, are those words to be retracted, "I have no intention of imputing criminality to the Princess of Wales." The whole effect of what has since passed is to impute criminality. The noble lord will, however, give no information. I trust he will, on Wednesday, be prepared so to do; and in the mean time I presume, from his silence, that no directions have been given for the prosecution of Lady Douglas."

Lord Castlereagh said, "I never made any declaration either of guilt or innocence, as I did not consider it to be within our competent juris-

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diction. I distinctly stated that the evidence submitted to the Portland cabinet, which went to criminate her Royal Highness, was either contradicted, or not entitled to credence. I did not attempt to pronounce on guilt or innocence, as this House is not a competent tribunal."

Mr. Whitbread replied, and after some few observations, Lord Milton rose to propose, as an amendment, that the House should adjourn, which not being seconded the original motion was carried.

While the general expectation was directed towards Mr. Whitbread's motion, anxious to know its fate, in proportion as the public wished for justice to be done to the evidence of Sir John and Lady Douglas, it was found out, during the interval of his giving notice, "That the prosecution against the Douglases would not hold in law, as they had not sworn in open court, or after precess joined," and hence the honourable mover was obliged to alter his motion, and to propose an address to his Royal Highness, "to order the proper measures to be taken for discovering and bringing to justice the persons concerned in giving publicity to the nauseous depositions."

Upon this newly-discovered ground, when the House opened, on Wednesday, March 17, Mr. Whitbread brought in a petition from Sir John and Lady Douglas, which was read by the clerk nearly in the following terms:—

"That your petitioners are advised, that the depositions which they made on oath before the Commissioners, in June, 1806, were

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not made before such a tribunal as would subject your petitioners, in case their depositions were false, to prosecution and punishment for perjury. That your petitioners feeling the utmost confidence in their own innocence, and the truth of their depositions so delivered as aforesaid, before the said Commissioners, are perfectly ready and willing, and hereby offer to swear the said depositions before any competent tribunal, so as to render themselves liable to such prosecution and punishment for perjury, if their said depositions should be proved to be false. And your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray your honourable House, that they may be sworn before a competent tribunal, for the purposes aforesaid, as your petitioners do not wish to shelter themselves under any legal forms against the consequences of giving the said depositions.

. . . . . "And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

The speech which Mr. Whitbread made on this occasion entered so fully into the history of the whole transaction between the Princess and her enemies, that there are very few points indeed which this masterpiece of eloquence did not embrace. As a mediator between the royal parties, he acknowledged that a noble friend of her Royal Highness had, on a former night, when the Princess was declared innocent, done him the honour of asking his advice, and he, on that occasion, sketched out a letter of dignified submission from her to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and sent it to the Princess. She did him the honour of taking a copy of it in her own hand, with the intention of sending it to the Prince; but this healing and desirable step was prevented, by her receiving information that Sir John and Lady Douglas were again under examination, and that too with the sanction of the Lord-Chancellor. The letter he would read, if the House would indulge him. The following is a correct copy:—

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"Sir,

"I once more approach your Royal Highness, and can venture to assure you, Sir, that if you will deign to read my letter, you will not be dissatisfied with its contents.

"The report made by certain members of his Majesty's privy council, was communicated to me by Lord Sidmouth, and its contents appeared to those upon whose advice I rely, to be such as to require on my part a public assertion of my innocence, and a demand of investigation. It cannot be unknown to your Royal Highness that I addressed a letter to the Lord Chancellor, and a duplicate of that letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, for the purpose of its being communicated to the two Houses of Parliament.

"The Lord Chancellor twice returned my letter, and did not communicate its contents to the House of Lords.

"The Speaker of the House of Commons thought it his duty to announce the receipt of my letter, and it was read from the chair. To my inexpressible gratification I have been informed, that, although no proceeding was instituted according to my request, certain discussions which took place in that honourable House have resulted in the complete, and unequivocal, and universal acknowledgment of my entire innocence, to the satisfaction of the world.

"Allow me, Sir, to say to your Royal Highness, that I address you now relieved from a load of distress which has pressed upon me for many years.

"I was always conscious that I was free from reproach. I am now known to be so, and worthy to bear the exalted title of Princess of Wales.

"On the subject of the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte, I bow, as becomes me, and with implicit deference to the opinion expressed by his Majesty, now that I have been made acquainted with it. His Majesty's decision I must always regard as sacred.

"To such restrictions as your Royal Highness shall think proper to impose upon the intercourse between the Princess Charlotte and myself, as arising out of the acknowledged exercise of your parental and royal authority, I submit without observation; but I throw myself upon the compassion of your Royal Highness, not to abridge more than may be necessary my greatest, indeed, my only pleasure.

"Your Royal Highness may be assured, that, if the selection of

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society for the Princess Charlotte, when on her visits to me, were left to my discretion, it would be, as it always has been, unexceptionable for rank and character. If your Royal Highness would condescend, Sir, to name the society yourself, your injunctions should be strictly adhered to.

"I will not detain your Royal Highness—I throw myself again on your royal justice and compassion, and I subscribe myself, with perfect sincerity, and in the happy feelings of justified innocence, your Royal Highness's, &c. &c. &c."

Mr. Tierney, speaking of Lord Castlereagh, said, he could discern by no gesture or look of the noble lord, whether they were to remain in that situation or not. But, waving this question, he wished to know by what authority Mr. (Justice) Conant should undertake to meddle with matters of state, by calling, as he had done, for evidence on the subject! People talked of conspiracies, of a conspiracy between the Douglas's; but there might be conspiracy and collusion elsewhere. As an amendment to Mr. Whitbread's motion, Mr. Tierney then moved, That the printer and publisher of the Morning Herald (and he afterwards added the Morning Post) should be called to the bar of the House; which was negatived. At length Mr. Whitbread agreed to wave his motion, which, as well as Mr. Tierney's amendment, was negatived without a division.

Having now nearly exhausted the subject relative to Sir John Douglas, and the debates in Parliament connected with his Lady's famous statement and deposition, we may go back in the history a few weeks, to notice the proceedings that took place relative to the unfeeling and cruel re-

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"*Fifth House, Feb.* 14, 1813.

"Lord Liverpool has the honour to inform your Royal Highness, that in consequence of the publication in *The Morning Chronicle* of the 10th instant of a letter addressed by your Royal Highness to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness thought fit, *by the advice of his confidential servants*, to signify his commands that the intended visit of the Princess Charlotte to your Royal Highness on the following day should not take place.

"Lord Liverpool is not enabled to make any further communication to your Royal Highness on the subject of your Royal Highness's note."

To this letter the Princess of Wales commanded Lady Anne Hamilton, her lady in waiting, to reply as follows:—

"*Montague House, Blackheath, Feb.* 15, 1813.

"Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to represent to Lord Liverpool, that the insidious insinuation, respecting the publication of the letter addressed by the Princess of Wales, on the 14th of January, to the Prince Regent, conveyed in his lordship's reply to her Royal Highness, is as void of foundation, and as false as all the former accusations of the traducers of her Royal Highness's honour in the year 1806.

"Lady Hamilton is further commanded to say, that dignified silence would have been the line of conduct the Princess would have preserved upon such an insinuation, (more than unbecoming Lord Liverpool,) did not the effect arising from it operate to deprive her Royal Highness of the sole real happiness she can possess in this world—that of seeing her only child. And the confidential servants of the Prince Regent ought to feel ashamed of their conduct towards the Princess, in avowing to her Royal Highness their advice to the Prince Regent, that upon unauthorized and unfounded suppositions a mother and daughter should be prevented from meeting—a prohibition positively against the law of nature.

"Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded further to desire Lord Liverpool to lay this paper before the Prince Regent, that his Royal Highness may be aware into what error his confidential servants are leading him, and will involve him, by counselling and signifying such commands."

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No reply was made to this letter; and about this time commenced those cabinet meetings, and other *secret* proceedings against her Royal Highness, which may not inaptly be denominated the second exposure of the Douglas plot.

Rumours began speedily to circulate that another "Delicate Investigation" was actually going on; and that not only the old 1806 charges would be revived, but that other new, and still more criminatory, matter would come out. Nothing short of the complete destruction of her Royal Highness was now anticipated; and every body looked to the result with the most fearful forebodings. Of the real facts of the case, however, the object of all this inquiry—the marked victim of all these shocking rumours—was left in utter ignorance. Neither the nature, the form, nor the precise place of the proceedings were known to her Royal Highness. That something was in agitation against her she knew, for it was in every one's mouth—what was intended, or what was doing, she knew not. That, however, she might not remain any longer in suspense, on the 27th of February she addressed the following letter to the Earl of Harrowby:—

"*Feb.* 27, 1813.

"The Princess of Wales has received reports from various quarters, of certain proceedings lately held by his Majesty's privy council, respecting her Royal Highness; and the Princess has felt persuaded that these reports must be unfounded, because she could not believe it possible that any resolution should be taken by that most honourable body in any respect affecting her Royal Highness, upon statements which she has had no opportunity of *answering, explaining,* or *even seeing.*

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"The Princess still trusts that there is no truth in these rumours; but she feels it due to herself to lose no time in protesting against any resolution affecting her Royal Highness which may be so adopted.

"The noble and right honourable persons who are said to have been selected for these proceedings are too just to decide any thing touching her Royal Highness, without affording her an opportunity of laying her case before them. The Princess has not had any power to choose the judges before whom any inquiry may be carried on; but she is perfectly willing to have her whole conduct inquired into by any persons who may be selected by her accusers. The Princess only demands that she may be heard in defence or in explanation of her conduct, if it is attacked; and that she should either be treated as innocent, or proved to be guilty."

The Earl of Harrowby, in reply, stated, that a copy of the Report of the Prince Regent's ministers had that evening been sent to the Princess of Wales by Lord Viscount Sidmouth; and that was to be considered as an answer to her Royal Highness's request, not to be tried behind her back, nor condemned unheard!

The following is the Report alluded to, and is the same which has already been mentioned in the letter addressed by her Royal Highness to the Speaker of the House of Commons:

REPORT, &c.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

The following members of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, viz.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,
The Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor,
His Grace the Archbishop of York,
His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland,
The Lord President of the Council,
The Lord Privy Seal,
The Earl of Buckinghamshire,

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The Earl Bathurst,
The Earl of Liverpool,
The Earl of Mulgrave,
The Viscount Melville,
The Viscount Sidmouth,
The Viscount Castlereagh,
The Right Hon. the Lord Bishop of London,
The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of King's Bench,
The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons,
The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
The Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Duchy,
His Honour the Master of the Rolls,
*The Right Hon. the Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas,**
The Right Hon. the Lord Chief-Baron of the Court of Exchequer,
The Right Hon. the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty,
The Right Hon. the Dean of the Arches,

Having been summoned, by command of your Royal Highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary of State for the Home Department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms:—

"My Lords—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an Inquiry instituted by command of his Majesty, in the year 1806, and contains, among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the Prince Regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the Princess Charlotte; and his Royal Highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverting to the directions heretofore given by his Majesty, that the documents relating to the said Inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his Majesty's principal

* The chief justice of the court of common pleas was prevented by indisposition from attending during any part of these proceedings.

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secretary of state, in order that his Majesty's government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary; his Royal Highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, for your consideration; and that you should report to his Royal Highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions."

Their lordships adjourned their meetings to Tuesday the 23d February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your Royal Highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your Royal Highness as follows:

In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to your Royal Highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your Royal Highness; in which letter the Princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between her Royal Highness and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.

We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your Royal Highness, all the documents relative to the Inquiry instituted in 1806, by command of his Majesty, into the truth of certain representations respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your Royal Highness, in consequence of the advice of Lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty, by whom they were transmitted to his Majesty's consideration. And your Royal Highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your Royal Highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper, that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restraint.

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We beg leave humbly to Report to your Royal Highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that, under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your Royal Highness in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state, that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restraint.

We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exceed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your Royal Highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, as it appears, by a statement under the hand of her Majesty the Queen, that your Royal Highness has conformed, in this respect, to the declared will of his Majesty, who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till her Royal Highness should have completed her eighteenth year.

We also humbly trust, that we may be further permitted to notice some expressions in the letter of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words—"suborned traducers." As this expression, from the manner in which it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstructions (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended), to have reference to some part of the conduct of your Royal Highness, we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before us, afforded the most ample proof that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

(Signed by the privy counsellors as above.)

That the Princess of Wales, after such treatment as she had experienced from the ministers of the crown did not break out into open rebellion was owing to her high sense of duty as a subject, and her immoveable love of peace and of the country

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which had adopted her. Most certainly no other woman would have borne, with like patience and resignation, such repeated, unprovoked, and unmerited insult. Not a tittle of blame was justly imputed to her—not a shadow of guilt is even charged upon her—from *all* circumstances of conduct of a criminal nature she was solemnly cleared by those very men who still thought it their duty to advise the Prince Regent to deny to his wife an unlimited intercourse with her only child! And this they also accompanied with the most injurious insinuations, as if a restricted intercourse between the mother and daughter was necessary to the welfare of the latter. I dare not trust myself with any attempt farther to remark on this nefarious and cruel proceeding. That there should have been found above a score of men of rank, character, and pretensions to British feeling, amongst whom were three archbishops, and one bishop, to give their sanction, or lend themselves to such a measure, merely to gratify the personal "inclinations" of one man, will continue to astonish, as it has already astonished, all Europe; and is a blot in the history of our country, which centuries will not wipe away.

We must hasten to the conclusion of this long and painful chapter, though it were no very difficult task to extend it by the relation of those numerous instances of marked insult and neglect which at length compelled her Royal Highness to quit this country, for a season, to travel on the Continent.

The remainder of the year 1813, and more than

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half of the year following, were spent by the Princess of Wales in almost complete retirement. Now and then she made her appearance in public; and on one occasion she happened to be at the Opera the same evening that the Prince Regent and the royal visiters, who were then in England, were there. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and other noble personages, arrived in London on the 7th of May, 1814; and on the 11th of May attended the Opera. Her Royal Highness, attended by Lady C. Campbell, and other ladies, sat in the opposite box. On her entrance into the house she was received with loud and continued plaudits. Her royal husband, and the continental sovereigns who accompanied him, rose and bowed to her; and she in return acknowledged the honour by a similar salutation. Would to God the same demeanour, cold as it was, had been uniformly observed towards her Royal Highness. But very different, indeed, has been the spirit manifested against this unfortunate lady! When the sovereigns of Europe visited this country, a drawing-room was necessary to receive them; but from this drawing-room her Royal Highness was most insultingly excluded! From that period, therefore, she determined to retire to the Continent, although it was evident that she could not expect much courtesy from those foreign courts, then in such strict friendship with our own.

This exclusion of her Royal Highness from the drawing-room of the Queen produced some spirited

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remarks from her Royal Highness worthy of notice. After the Queen had announced her intention of holding the first of them, she addressed a note to the Princess of Wales, stating, that she considered it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she had received a communication from her son the Prince Regent, in in which he stated, that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare, that he considered that his own presence at her court could not be dispensed with; and that he desired it might be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone could be the judge, to be *his fixed and unalterable determination* not to meet the *Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.* The Queen was therefore placed under what she called the *painful necessity* of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at her drawing-room.

To this cruel message her Royal Highness replied, that though she could not so far forget her duty to her King and herself as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by her Majesty: yet, that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her Majesty's situation, she should, in the present instance, yield to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and should not present herself to the drawing-rooms of the next month.

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It could not, however, be expected that her Royal Highness should pass over in entire silence the expressed determination of her Royal husband, *never more*, on any occasion, to meet her, in *public* or *private*. On the 26th of the same month, therefore, she addressed a most spirited letter to the Prince Regent, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the line of conduct in regard to her which he had thought proper to adopt. The following is a copy of this very spirited letter:—

"SIR,

"I am once more reluctantly compelled to address your Royal Highness; and I enclose, for your inspection, copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the Queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her Majesty. It would be in vain for me to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your Royal Highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination, *never to meet me upon any occasion, either in public or private.* Of these your Royal Highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive, by my answer to her Majesty, that I have only been restrained by motives of personal consideration towards her Majesty from exercising my right of appearing before her Majesty at the public drawing-rooms to be held in the ensuing month.

"But, Sir, lest it should be, by possibility, supposed that the words of your Royal Highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to demand of your Royal Highness, what circumstances can justify the proceedings you have thus thought fit to adopt.

"I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your Royal Highness of what you know,—that, after open persecution, and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I

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was restored by the King, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal. Since his Majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared innocent. I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

"Sir, your Royal Highness may possibly refuse to read this letter; but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank. Occasions, however, may arise, (one, I trust, is far distant,) when I must appear in public, and your Royal Highness must be present also. Can your Royal Highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your Royal Highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? I wave my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the Queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your Royal Highness, not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them.

"Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; amongst whom, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected of equal rank to your own, to rejoice with your Royal Highness on the peace of Europe. My daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire. This season your Royal Highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and, of all his Majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented by your Royal Highness from appearing in my place, to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me.

"I am, Sir,

"Your Royal Highness's faithful wife,

"CAROLINE P."

"*Connaught House, May* 26, 1814."

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Some further correspondence took place, and on the 3d of June the Speaker of the House of Commons announced the receipt of a letter from her Royal Highness, strongly animadverting upon the dangerous nature of the fixed and unalterable determination of the Prince Regent never more to meet her, and enclosing, for the information of the House, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion.

After the correspondence had been read, Mr. Methuen moved, that an humble address be presented to the Prince Regent, to pray his Royal Highness that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice he had been induced to form the determination alluded to.

In the speech which the honourable mover made on that occasion we have the following very animated exclamations: "What, Sir," said he, "shall the boasted liberty of this country be henceforth considered as but an empty name? Shall that soil, which has been hitherto said to confer, instantaneously, freedom on the most abject slave who had the good fortune to tread it—must this sacred soil, lose its long-acknowledged charm, and sink to the lowest level in the scale of nations! Shall this House, distinguished as it has been in the cause of humanity, in the cause of the poor African, deny the smallest portion of the same christian-like balm, to heal the wounds of a Princess? Or is it for the slave alone that the manly heart can feel, or the eloquent tongue can plead?"

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—In the debate, which was carried on with closed doors, ministers contended that it was not within the province of the House of Commons to interfere in the business.—Mr. Bathurst sensibly declared, that, in his opinion, the more appeals were made to the public, and the more this unhappy subject should be agitated, the more irritation would be produced by it, and the more injury would be done to the peace of the royal family. At length Mr. Methuen, in the expressed hope that the rigorous proceeding announced against the Princess would not be acted upon at the approaching drawing-rooms, consented to withdraw his motion.

On the 7th of July, the day of general thanksgiving for the peace, means were taken to prevent her Royal Highness from going to St. Paul's cathedral, because the Prince Regent would be there! Here was displayed the first indication of the full extent of that deep-rooted hostility towards her Royal Highness, which has not contented herself with what, by comparison, may be called insults of a worldly or temporal nature, but has carried its resentments even to the throne of God, notwithstanding the solemn and divine command, first to agree with an adversary before we offer any gift at the altar. It was the same spirit, that excluded the Princess of Wales from divine service in St. Paul's and the name of Queen Caroline from the Liturgy of the Church! This puerile attempt to enlist the majesty of heaven in the cause of a profane quarrel between two sinful

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mortals, borders so strongly upon downright impiety, that I dare not venture to express my full opinion of an act so unchristian-like and ungodly.

I will not swell the present volume with all the parliamentary proceedings respecting the provision made for the Princess of Wales. A brief outline, however, will be requisite to show the disinterested character of her Majesty, who, during a period of six years, with a generosity of feeling, and a disinterested patriotism but seldom manifested in princes, gave up to the nation the sum of *fifteen thousand pounds* every year!

On the 23d of the same month, however, Mr. Methuen moved a resolution, for the House to take into consideration the correspondence which had been communicated to the Speaker by the Princess of Wales; but, in supporting that motion, instead of insisting upon the indignities and injustice which, her Royal Highness's friends had contended, had been offered to the mother of our future sovereign, he dwelt chiefly upon the necessity of increasing the establishment of her Royal Highness. "Sir," said he, "when the Princess of Wales married, she had an allowance of 17,000*l.* a-year from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, besides 5,000*l.* a-year which she received from the exchequer. In 1800, his Royal Highness sent her a message, informing her, that in consequence of his own embarrassments, he could allow her only 12,000*l.* a year. In 1809, his Royal Highness undertook to pay her Royal Highness's

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debts, amounting to 49,000*l.* and to restore her annual allowance to its original sum of 17,000*l.* For nine years, therefore, her Royal Highness had 5,000*l.* a-year less than when she resided at Carlton House, and had no separate establishment to maintain. The consequence was obvious. Her Royal Highness's income was so inadequate to her expenditure, that, in July last, she was under the necessity of reducing her establishment to seven domestics, and of almost entirely giving up seeing company."—Lord Castlereagh observed, in reply, that it was the first time Parliament had been told that an increased provision for her Royal Highness was the object that her friends had in view. "There never was," said his lordship, "I am fully convinced, a feeling in his Royal Highness's mind, that any thing like money ought to be a question between them. In the year 1809, when his Royal Highness found that the Princess was in debt, he said, rather than that should be thrown on the public, he was ready to take on himself the payment of her debts, and to add 5,000*l.* to her income, making it in all 22,000*l.* provided that he had any reasonable assurance that no debt, contracted by her, should in future be brought forward against him. This was agreed to, and a solemn deed was prepared, assuring the separation of the parties. At the time alluded to, the Prince of Wales had an income of 120,000*l.* which, after deducting the property tax, was 108,000*l.*; and, after deducting the further sum of 40,000*l.* which the Prince had an-

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anally devoted towards the payment of his debts, many of which had been contracted at a period of life that rendered them of an extremely questionable nature, amounted to no more than 70,000*l.* Previously to the year 1809, 12,000*l.* a-year out of that 70,000*l.* was paid to the Princess of Wales; so that the 5,000*l.* additional, allowed in 1809, with that 12,000*l.* made, in all, a deduction of 17,000*l.* from the income of the Prince, reducing it to 53,000*l.* The debts of the Princess amounted to 49,000*l.* (they amounted, in reality, to 80,000*l.* but they had been reduced to the former sum in consequence of a grant from the droits of admiralty), and, to liquidate that debt, the Prince undertook to set apart 10,000*l.* a-year; reducing his annual income to 43,000*l.* as Prince of Wales, which, with 13,000*l.* from the Duchy of Cornwall, was the whole of the sum on which he was reduced to live. I question," said his lordship, "if ever there was a husband who made greater sacrifices for the comfortable establishment of his wife than the Prince of Wales then did. However the conduct of his Royal Highness may be tortured, and whatever unfavourable construction may be put upon it, I defy any person to say that he ever betrayed any thing of a vindictive nature towards her, or the smallest wish to interfere with her social comforts. On the contrary, he made sacrifices which no other husband in the land, had he been brought before Parliament, would have been called on to make. So far from the existence of the colour

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of mind which has been falsely attributed to his Royal Highness, if he could possibly have increased her income, without being supposed to be truckling with the base attacks which were continually made on him, he would not have waited for the suggestion of his ministers, had she disentangled herself from the base cabal by whom she was surrounded. With the greatest satisfaction he would have entered into the feelings of her wants himself, and not have suffered his family to be dragged, as it had been, before the public."—His lordship intimated, that upon a future day, he should have no objection to submit to the House a proposal for an increase of income to the Princess.—Mr. Methuen again withdrew his motion.

On the 4th of July, in a committee, Lord Castlereagh accordingly rose to propose that such an increase should be made to the income of the Princess of Wales as would enable her to maintain an establishment more suited to her station in this country; and he thought, that the most desirable method would be to raise it to that point to which it would be advanced in the event of the death of the Prince Regent. His proposal, therefore, was, that the net annual sum of 50,000*l.* should be granted to the Princess, and that the 5,000*l.* and 17,000*l.* which she then enjoyed, should be withheld from the Prince Regent's income.

In a subsequent stage of this business Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the House to a letter which had been received by the chairman of

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the committee, from the Princess of Wales, in which her Royal Highness intimated, that, as she could not consent to any addition to the burthens of the people, beyond what her situation might appear to require, it would be more satisfactory to her if the vote of the committee for an allowance of 50,000*l.* per annum were reduced to 35,000*l.* Mr. Whitbread, in explanation, said, that when consulted upon the subject by her Royal Highness, he had stated to her, that the sum of 50,000*l.* was disapproved of by him, as being larger than circumstances required—larger than what he could consent to vote for—and larger than what he thought the noble lord ought to have proposed. He thought that the sum of 35,000*l.* a-year was amply sufficient, and in that opinion her Royal Highness most perfectly acquiesced. After some discussion, in the course of which Mr. Whitbread, and others, who had been the advisers of the Princess during these proceedings, endeavoured to vindicate their conduct from the imputation of having been the agitators of the business, the recommendation of her Royal Highness was adopted, and a bill was passed for settling upon her the minor sum of 35,000*l.* a-year.

I have already related the anecdote of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte's leaving Carlton House in a hackney-coach, and have given some account of her intended marriage with the Prince of Orange, incidents which, at the time, created a very great sensation, and, probably, in conjunction

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with the general line of conduct pursued towards her by her royal husband and his court, induced her Royal Highness to quit this country. The motives by which she was mainly influenced in generously accepting the sum of 35,000*l.* instead of 50,000*l.* and in determining, contrary to the advice of some of her best friends, to travel abroad, are exhibited in the following highly interesting correspondence:—

Letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to Lord Liverpool, first Minister to the Prince Regent, dated Connaught House, 25th July, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to lay before the Prince Regent the contents of this letter.

"Actuated by the most urgent motive, that of restoring tranquillity to the Prince Regent, as well as to secure the peace of mind of which she has been for so many years deprived, the Princess of Wales, after mature reflection, has resolved to return to the Continent. This resolution ought not to surprise the ministers of the Prince Regent, considering the trouble and disagreeable experience of the Princess, for so long a time; and still more, after the indignity and mortification to which she has been exposed, by being withheld from receiving her nearest relations, and the most intimate friends of the late Duke of Brunswick, her illustrious father.

"The Princess is extremely anxious that the Prince Regent should be informed of the motives, and clearly comprehend her past conduct, as politically exhibited.—In exacting a justification from this noble nation,—her sole protection since the unfortunate indisposition of the King,—she is to be understood as solicitous only to maintain her rights and her honour, which are dearer to her than life itself.

"The Princess of Wales would have undertaken her projected tour long before, if she had not been prevented by the breaking off of the projected marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange. She could not resolve to leave her daughter without protection, at a period so critical. The Prince Regent having planned to establish the new married couple at the Hague, the

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Princess Charlotte, on that account principally, declined the match. Unwilling to prove any obstacle to future arrangement favourable to the happiness of her daughter, the Princess of Wales has at length resolved to return to Brunswick, her native country. She may afterwards travel into Italy and Greece, where she may probably be able to select an agreeable abode, and live in it for some years. The Princess flatters herself that the Prince Regent will have no objection to this design.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to represent to the Prince Regent, that she resigns Montague House, and the title of Ranger of Greenwich Park, in favour of her daughter, as also the house bequeathed to her by her mother. The Princess of Wales hopes the Prince Regent will grant this favour, the last she will solicit.

"The Princess embraces this opportunity to explain the motives which have induced her to decline the grant of 50,000*l.* voted to her by the nation in Parliament. She expresses her most lively acknowledgment to this liberal and generous nation for its willingness to grant her such a pension during life; but she has only taken 35,000*l.* because, as the gift was intended to support her in her proper rank, and to enable her to hold a court as became the wife of the Prince Regent, the receipt of it would interfere with her views of travelling, and her purpose to quit England for a season. Such is the substance of her present communication to Lord Liverpool, which the Princess would have made before, but for the fear of producing new debates in Parliament. She has therefore waited the rising of Parliament, and is now about to depart for Worthing, to embark, not intending to return previously to London.

"The Princess of Wales is happy to assure Lord Liverpool that she will ever be ardently solicitous for the prosperity and glory of this generous nation."

This communication was evidently not displeasing to the Prince Regent, for three days afterwards Lord Liverpool made the following reply to it:—

Letter of Lord Liverpool to the Princess of Wales, the 28th of July, 1814.

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour to receive the letter of

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her Royal Highness. Having communicated it to the Prince Regent, he has ordered him to inform her Royal Highness that he can have no objection to the intentions of her Royal Highness to effect the design which she announces to the Prince Regent, of returning to her native country, to visit her brother, the Duke of Brunswick, assuring her that the Prince Regent will never throw any obstacle in the way of her present or future intentions, as to the place where she may wish to reside.

"The Prince Regent leaves entirely to the liberty of her Royal Highness to exercise her own discretion as to her abode in this country or on the Continent, as it may be convenient to her.

"Lord Liverpool is also commanded, on the part of the Prince Regent, to inform her Royal Highness, that he will not throw any obstacles in the way of the arrangements of her Royal Highness, whatever they may be, respecting the house at Blackheath, which belonged to the late Duchess of Brunswick, or the rest of the private property of her Royal Highness. But that, for reasons rather too long to explain, the Prince Regent will not permit the Princess Charlotte to be ranger of Greenwich Park, nor to occupy any of the houses at Blackheath which her Royal Highness has hitherto occupied.

"Lord Liverpool has also been enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, before he closes the letter which he has the honour to send to her Royal Highness, to inform her, in relation to the two articles which her Royal Highness has inserted in her letter concerning the rupture of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the hereditary Prince of Orange, as well as to the reason for which the allied sovereigns did not, previously to their departure from England, pay their visit to her Royal Highness, that, as to the first article, Lord Liverpool is commanded by the Prince Regent to inform her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent is not persuaded that the private considerations of the circumstances in which the Princess is placed can have been an obstacle to the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.—As to the second article, Lord Liverpool is also enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, to signify to her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent never opposed himself to the allied sovereigns making a visit to her Royal Highness during their stay in London.

"Lord Liverpool has the honour to be, with all esteem and the highest consideration, &c. &c.

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"P. S.—The Prince Regent can make no difficulties on the subject of the directions which the Princess has the intention of giving as to the house at Blackheath; neither will the Prince Regent oppose her Royal Highness's retaining the apartments in the palace of Kensington, in the same manner as she possessed them while in London, for the convenience of herself and suite."

On the same day that her Royal Highness wrote to Lord Liverpool, she addressed another letter to Mr. Whitbread and his friends: of that letter the following is a copy:—

Letter from the Princess of Wales to Mr. Whitbread, and to his Friends, dated 25th July, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales has the pleasure to inform, and frankly to avow to Mr. Whitbread, that she is about to take the most important step in her life. She has embraced the resolution of quitting the country for a time, and has written to Lord Liverpool to immediately inform the Prince Regent of her intention. The Princess encloses a copy of this letter to Mr. Whitbread, to inform himself and friends of the plan of conduct which she has adopted.

"The Princess is so persuaded of the well-known integrity of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Brougham, that she cannot doubt but *they* would have proposed such a step, if motives of delicacy had not prevented them. The Princess is deeply penetrated with gratitude for the attentions which they have shown her, at all times, and on all occasions. This kindness on their part has withheld her from asking their advice on the present occasion; in every other instance, she assures them, she has always followed the suggestions of her advisers and friends, and conformed to their superior intelligence.

"Her conscience tells her, that her conduct is worthy of her character, and of her sentiments, and will always remain so. She has had sufficient leisure to reflect maturely before she adopted her present resolution. People who know not the character of the Princess may be disposed to believe that she has been induced to adopt this measure in a moment of ill-humour: but she takes the Almighty to witness, that she has been intending to travel ever

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since 1806, although reasons, too long for explanation, have prevented her. No person, possessed of pride and feeling, could endure to be degraded below her rank in this kingdom, as Princess of Wales, or even as a simple individual, bear to be so hated by the sovereign, as to be debarred from his presence, both in public and in private. The Princess of Wales knows not how to support so much debasement and mortification. She cannot allow herself to be treated as a culprit by the Prince and his family, when her innocence has been acknowledged by ministers and by Parliament, after an investigation which has done away the accusations of traitors and enemies.

"The Princess, having obtained this public satisfaction, cannot, in conscience, remain a burthen to her friends any longer. Events are continually occurring which oblige her zealous and generous advocates to step forward in her defence; and this devotion has even proved a source of disagreement between Mr. Whitbread and a part of his family. He cannot but remember that the Princess has been the cause of this difference; and it is with a view to its removal that she takes the part which she announces.

"The Princess of Wales is deeply penetrated with the generosity of this brave nation, which, after having taken so lively an interest in her misfortunes, and in her sufferings, as cruel as they are unjust, so willingly affords her the means of living peaceably in future. She hopes that her gratitude, which will only cease with her existence, will be one day renewed in the Princess Charlotte, and that her daughter will give proofs of it, by her zeal for the glory and happiness of this kingdom, by defending the rights of her people; and proving, by her conduct, that, great and powerful as she may be, she will not tyrannise over any one, merely because they have not the good fortune to please her.

"The Princess of Wales would probably not have departed so soon, had not the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange been broken off at her own instance. Dear as her daughter is to her, she could not resolve to leave her without protection in a situation so critical. The Princess, aware that the match was ardently desired by the people, wished neither to impede the happiness of the nation nor that of her daughter. On that account she is solicitous to depart at once, for it is pitiable to see a child reduced on all occasions a source of dispute between her parents.

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The Princess of Wales is assured that in future the Princess Charlotte will be more happy and tranquil; and she is led to make this sacrifice, that, if she remains some time longer unmarried, there may be fewer obstacles to her appearance in public. Her father, the Prince Regent, may thus choose the most suitable of her nearest relations to introduce her into society, that she may enjoy the pleasures belonging to her age, and become acquainted with the character of the most distinguished persons of the nation, of which knowledge she has hitherto been deprived by means which she proceeds to detail.

"The Princess Charlotte will the less feel the privation of her mother's society, as she has been deprived of it for the two last years. During that time, five or six months in succession have passed away without the mother being allowed to see her daughter. She has even been refused the consolation of receiving any of her letters, and thus her regret at leaving her is lessened; for, although living in the same capital, they were not allowed to speak, even when they met in their airings. Her daughter's coachman was forbidden to stop, and directed to act as if he knew not the carriage of the Princess of Wales. Thus to quit her will be but the grief of a day, whilst to remain is to plant daggers in the bosoms both of mother and child. The Princess cannot rest in a situation so unfortunate for herself, and so uneasy to others, and is sure that Mr. Whitbread and his friends will be affected by these considerations; that their sentiments will accord with her own, and that they will approve of her resolution.

"The Princess, before she ends this long letter, is solicitous to explain to her advisers the most urgent reason for her quitting England, and to shew them that delicacy has obliged her to put herself under the protection of this great and generous nation, having no other refuge since the indisposition of the King. How much has it cost her to make public this declaration—that is to say, that the Prince Regent has been her most inveterate enemy, imposed upon by false accusers and enemies to her honour.

"That which renders her situation still more embarrassing is, that this generous nation has shown more devotion towards herself than to its ruler, who ought to be the blessing and glory of his people. The Princess hopes, that when she has quitted England, the Prince Regent will make public his conviction that her conduct and character have not merited reproach; and thereby regain

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that popularity which is due to him on the part of this noble nation."

To this letter Mr. Whitbread returned the following answer:—

Letter of Mr. Whitbread to the Princess of Wales, the 1st of August, 1814.

"Mr. Whitbread assures her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that he has *not* been at all surprised at the resolution with which she has been pleased to acquaint him; it cannot but give him much pain to think that he will not be able to enjoy the amiable society of the Princess for some time. Even in her absence, his zeal for her future happiness will be at all times, and in every place, his only object: he will prove it by his cares and his activity, and by his unalterable attachment, in contributing to the happiness of the Princess Charlotte, whose integrity of character should suffice to form his motive.

"In concluding this letter, Mr. Whitbread only wishes to reiterate his sentiments of devotion, and of zeal for her re-establishment in all the rights of the empire over which she is one day to reign.

"SAMUEL WHITBREAD."

Finding it impossible she should live in this country with any degree of comfort, we here see that her Royal Highness determined to retire to the Continent, there to seek, by travel, and the society of those who would not be constantly employed in rendering her life miserable, that amusement, and quietude of mind, denied to her at home. Accordingly, on the 9th of August, 1814, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales embarked at a place near Worthing, in the frigate Jason, for the Continent. Her Royal Highness arrived at the Stein Hotel about half-past four o'clock, when Captain King not being ready, as he was expected

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The last interview between Her Majesty & Princess Charlotte.

Published by J. Robins & Co. Albion Press, London, Jan. 19, 1818.

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to be, to receive her, she immediately drove off, accompanied by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Master Austin, and some other personages of her state, to South Lancing, a place about two miles from Worthing, wishing to avoid the gaze of the multitude, and the tears which she drew from every eye that beheld her affecting departure.

I cannot pass unobserved the fact, that from the very day and hour of her Royal Highness's quitting this country she was closely watched, and all her footsteps marked as if she had been guilty of some notorious offence, or was some person of habits and propensities dangerous to the public. When her Royal Highness arrived at the Stein Hotel, as just stated, she there found some of the heads of the Bow Street public office! But they were not there to protect her; for having been denied the protection of her husband, her daughter, her royal and venerable father-in-law, she wanted no protector but heaven, and that she had. For what purpose the innocent —the exiled—wife of the Prince Regent, should be hunted and watched by Bow Street officers will ever remain a secret, except to those ignoble breasts that had so long harboured the most relentless and unjust prejudice against her.

Before I close this melancholy chapter, we must briefly notice the last interview which this amiable but afflicted Princess had with her beloved and adored daughter, the Princess Charlotte. It was, indeed, a most affecting scene. I cannot, of course, pretend to have witnessed it, and must, therefore,

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content myself with the best information I have been able, after no little pains taken for the purpose, to collect. The reader's imagination, however, will comprehend much more than any description in writing can convey to him. When the Apostle Paul said to his faithful companions, that "he went bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing what should there befal him," he did not speak more affectingly than this most worthy and excellent woman, when she first announced her final determination to travel into foreign and remote regions to her weeping daughter.

In ordinary life, leave-taking is always an affecting scene. The last look—the last embrace—the last salutation of friends and relatives, are always more than usually sincere, afflicting, and solemn. And here let us fancy to ourselves a mother, banished, *for no crime*, from her husband, driven from her natural home, and from an only and beloved child—deprived, by one of the most afflicting of all the dispensations of Divine Providence—insanity—of her great and only protector and sovereign—exiled and forsaken—about to take, for any thing she knew to the contrary, a last "lingering look" on the land that had adopted her, in whose people's hearts she continued to reign—imagine, I say, this exalted, yet depressed—this punished, yet innocent victim of prejudice and malice, just about to be severed from the only tie that could have bound her to her country and her home—a beloved, a faithful, and an only daughter—and the

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reader of sensibility will require no verbal delineation of that heart-rending scene—the last interview of these illustrious individuals. The expressions of mutual endearment were often repeated—vows of eternal affection were a thousand times interchanged—hopes and prayers for happier days and returning prosperity were offered up, whilst floods of tears left half expressed the last painful adieu! None but females were present; for that was a scene that would have broken the unyielding heart of man. On woman, whose feelings, though not less acute, that afflicting sight would sooner lose its most painful effects in the unrestrained indulgence of weeping: the sorrows of the heart would be softened by the emollient balm of a tear, the free use of which is denied to man.

Ah! but could these illustrious personages have then known what the inscrutable designs of Providence had in reversion for them, and that so speedily to be realized, what a still stronger degree of intensity would, at the moment of their separation, have been imparted to their sorrows! What would her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales have felt, could she then have had the remotest thought that so very soon she would be for ever childless! And how would her noble-spirited daughter have sustained the thought, could she have foreseen the thousand ills that awaited her afflicted and banished mother, should it please God to remove herself from this world by death! Human nature could not have sustained the anticipa-

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tion, that her Royal Highness would, within the short space of six years, be deprived of every earthly tie, and that every new loss would be accompanied by some new indignity—some fresh attack on her life—her honour—her peace—her character. Wise is God in all his ways, and just in all his dealings: "verily he is a God that hideth himself," and keeps from the knowledge of his creatures both the real and the apparent evil that awaits their destiny:

> He plants his footsteps in the sea,
> And rides upon the storm.
>
> COWPER.

A writer of the life of Queen Caroline is insensibly led almost into the visions of romance. The facts he has to relate—the adventures he is called upon to recount—the details it is his duty to lay before his readers, have rather the appearance of events that have been, than as circumstances passing under his own eye, and records of his own age. The very idea of a wandering, persecuted, afflicted, and sorrowing Princess, belongs rather to the fairy tales of former and darker ages, than to the enlightened, the philosophical, the rationally religious and moral days of the nineteenth century. But, alas! we have had reason to know that the reign of tyranny is not yet quite at an end—that the triumphs of philosophy and religion are not quite complete. We have not yet seen "captivity led captive," but have still abundant scope for the exercise of our faith, and the demands of patient

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hope and reverential fear. When the innocence of a lovely female, and that female a Princess and a Queen, has not proved a security from the shafts of persecution, and the hellish machinations of inveterate malice, it becomes every inferior individual to look well to himself, lest the evil spirit that would destroy the prince should trample down the peasant. And when we reflect that some such spirit as this has discovered itself even in British Courts, it is the duty of every good Christian still more fervently to pray, that the Great Giver of all good would at length listen to the petitions of His people, and grant them a speedy reply to their requests, when they cry unto him to "endue the lords of the council, and all the nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding!" *Grace*, indeed, they may have had; but it is greatly to be feared, that it was not that grace which purifies the heart, and leads to lowliness of spirit. *Wisdom* cannot be denied them; but has it always been exercised in conjunction with the harmlessness of the dove? and without this divine union, the wisdom of the serpent is of no very desirable kind. *Understanding*, also belonged to them; for they understand the art of keeping their places, under circumstances, which, in better days, would have ousted wiser men than they.

When her Royal Highness embarked for the Continent, her suite consisted of the following persons: Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and Lady Elizabeth Forbes, who were her maids of honour; Mr.

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St. Leger; Sir William Gell, the enlightened author of the Topography of Troy, the Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca, the Itinerary of Greece, with a Commentary on Pausanius and Strabo, and an Account of the Monuments of Antiquity in that Country, with other works of merit; and the Hon. Keppel Craven, who afterwards published a Tour through Naples. Her equerry was Captain Hesse; her physician was Dr. Holland, subsequently the author of Travels in the Ionian Isles; Mr. Sicard was her house-steward, or major-domo; Mr. Hieronimus, a worthy and faithful servant, was her messenger. Philip Cravel was her page; his wife a domestic. She had two German chamber-maids. She had no English man-servant, except a young postillion, of the name of Hartop, who, when she arrived at Naples, was made her postillion. With this suite, and accompanied by the boy Austin, as already stated, her Royal Highness quitted England. Of the manner in which these several persons afterwards disposed of themselves the reader shall be made acquainted in the subsequent chapter.

After her Royal Highness, as above mentioned, had left Worthing, the Hon. Captain King appeared on the beach, and soon got into a small boat; when about half-way between the shore and the frigate Jason, he was met by his own barge, which proceeded to Lancing for her Royal Highness. Her female domestics went on board at Worthing. A small poney-cart, driven by the Princess's own coachman, conveyed her to the

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barge. A great multitude of horsemen, carriages, and persons on foot, followed her Royal Highness back to Worthing; and when she was on board the barge she condescendingly kissed her hands to the weeping females who stood on the water's edge, offering up many a prayer to heaven for her safety, and many a heart-felt sigh for her sufferings. No shouts, however, were heard, though the waving of handkerchiefs, and other silent demonstrations of affection, bespoke the feelings of attachment which every heart experienced for this illustrious Princess.

Amongst the articles composing the luggage of her Royal Highness there was one conspicuously observed. It was a very large tin case, on which was painted, in white letters, "HER ROYAL HIGHNESS, THE PRINCESS OF WALES, *to be always with her.*" What this case, with so singular an inscription, contained, it is impossible to know; doubtless some important document; perhaps some record of her innocence or her sufferings. She wore a dark-coloured satin pelisse having large gold clasps, and a cap of violet and green satin, like the cap of a Prussian hussar, with green feathers.

CHAPTER VII.

We have now to trace the history and character of this amiable Princess, rendered infinitely more

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interesting and illustrious by her sufferings, in a new point of view. She formed the resolution of visiting some of the most interesting portions of the globe; and it will be my business to follow her through regions which nothing but an insatiate thirst for knowledge, heightened by unparalleled domestic persecutions and bereavements, could have induced a rich female to explore.

Having arrived, with her suite, at Brunswick, her Royal Highness paid her respects to her gallant but unfortunate brother, the Prince of Brunswick. It would seem that it was not her Royal Highness's original intention to travel into very remote parts, but to have spent the greatest portion of her time in Germany and Italy. Her stay at Brunswick, however, was very short, for in two months after her departure from England she arrived at Milan. This was on the 8th of October, 1814. The same evening she visited the great theatre of Della Scalla, accompanied by several persons of great distinction, both foreigners and natives. Her appearance in that capital excited great curiosity and interest; the story of her sufferings---the plot against her life---the amiable and fascinating manners by which she was distinguished —preceded her wherever she went, and her company was courted by all the best and most independent portions of the community. None but those who fancied that their interests were identified with the will and pleasure of the English Court---none besides those who imagined that to

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insult his Consort would give pleasure to the Prince Regent of England, dared to show her the slightest disrespect. But, alas, her Royal Highness had not remained long at Milan---that theatre of infamy and perjury---that hot-bed of conspiracy and injustice---before she discovered that the prejudice which existed against her in the city of Westminster had shot its baleful influence athwart the British Channel, and set up its malignant standard in the heart of the Milanese.

According to a previous arrangement, and not from the base and unworthy motives attributed to them by her Majesty's enemies, some of her English suite left her on her quitting Brunswick. Lady Charlotte Lindsay was amongst this number; as also was Mr. Butler St. Leger, whom family affairs, and want of health, would not permit to travel farther. To the truth of this fact this honourable gentleman afterwards solemnly swore.

Her Royal Highness quitted Milan, and took up her residence at Naples, in the year 1815, and was there rejoined by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, who had retired to Spa, either to join her sister, the Lady Glenbervie, or on account of ill health.

Her Royal Highness's stay at Naples was only about four months; after which, on account of the great expense of residing there, and the manifest symptoms of approaching political convulsions, she repaired to Genoa. But before we conduct this illustrious traveller from Naples, it will be proper to notice some circumstances, of importance to our

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future history, that are said to have taken place in that kingdom.

The reader will hardly need to be informed that when her Royal Highness visited Italy, Joachim Murat, the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, was peaceably seated on the throne of Naples. He had not, as yet, become one of the victims of those counter-revolutionary convulsions which, with the exception of Bernadotte, annihilated all the newly-created sovereigns, and restored the ancient dynasties of Europe to their wonted crowns and dignities; somewhat, it is true, refined and purified by the fire of adversity, and the bitter experience of the evils attendent on unbridled despotism.

It is worthy of notice, that at this time the violent Bonapartists accused Murat with having basely deserted the *ci-devant* emperor. He had made a treaty with the Emperor of Austria, and raised his army to 50,000 men, in order, if possible, to support his independence. The Emperor of Austria had ratified that treaty, and assured his Neapolitan Majesty of his entire friendship. Great Britain, as well as the rest of the allied sovereigns, had acknowledged Murat's title to the kingdom and throne of Naples, and every thing appeared, at first, likely to establish his dynasty. It was not till near the close of the following year that this unfortunate monarch, in whom it was hoped the legitimate sovereigns of Europe would have found a faithful and valuable ally, was cruelly shot at Na-

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ples. This took place on the 3d of October, 1815, the same day on which the Spanish general, Porlier, was executed at Corunna. Murat was, most assuredly, a man deserving a better fate.

I mention these circumstances briefly to show that the notice which was taken of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales by the Neapolitan Court, and the grateful respect which her Royal Highness manifested towards King Joachim Murat, was in no degree unbecoming her station and condition, as the Consort of the Prince Regent of England, with whom Murat was then on terms of the strictest amity. Joachim's subsequent ignominious death detracted nothing from his former honours as king. Yet even this visit of the Princess of Wales to the palace and court of Murat has been made the ground of complaint by the inveterate malice of her wholesale accusers.

Her Royal Highness arrived in Naples on the 8th of November, 1814, having been met about six miles from that city at a place called Avensa, by the King and Queen of Naples, and several of the Neapolitan noblesse. On her arrival in the city, she repaired to the house previously taken for her; a house, though a good one, too small for the accommodation of all her suite. Accordingly, on the 9th, Sir William Gell, and the Hon. Keppel Craven, her chamberlains, took lodgings at another house in the neighbourhood; but merely to sleep, attending the whole day, in turns, and sometimes together, at the house of their royal mistress.

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Before we proceed to notice any of the circumstances which took place at Naples, and on which so much stress has been laid, as affecting the character of this amiable Princess, it will be proper to introduce to the notice of the reader some account of a person whose life and conduct formed so important and interesting a portion in the history of Queen Caroline. I mean the Baron Bergami, or, as his name has been usually spelt, Bergami, concerning whom the voice of slander was incessantly employed, and of whom such very opposite statements were made: one party describing him as of the lowest origin, the most vulgar manners, and the most depraved habits and principles; the other, as a man springing from a rich and respectable family, reduced by the fortune of those continental revolutions which ruined so many noble and honourable persons, and elevated so many worthless and base wretches. I have taken some pains to ascertain the truth respecting this matter, and I have no hesitation in asserting that he sprang from a family of note in his own country, though his father, partly through the revolutions just mentioned, and partly by his own extravagance, was brought into great debts and difficulties. That Bergami was not really of low origin is in truth beyond all doubt; and if any could remain, it would be sufficient to remove such unworthy conjectures and suspicions, by mentioning the fact, that his three sisters were all most honourably connected

by marriage. His first sister married the Count d'Oldi; the second, Mr. Severgrini, of an ancient family at Cremona; and the third was united in marriage to Mr. Martini de Lodi, brother of the ex-secretary-general of the captaincy of Padua, when commanded by his Excellency the Baron de Geez. Baron Bergami has two brothers, namely, Louis Bergami, and Vallotti Bergami, who was formerly sub-prefect of Cremona. During her Majesty's residence in Italy, the Baron Bergami was one of her chamberlains, Louis presided over her household, and Vallotti was comptroller of disbursement.

Bartolomeo, not willing that any adverse family misfortunes, or imprudences, should depress him beyond the possibility of regaining his natural rank and station in life, entered the army, and was attached to the etat-major of the troops, commanded by his Excellency the General Count Pino, in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814; a fact proved beyond contradiction, by the following declaration of General Major Galimberti:---

"I declare, that M. le Baron Bartolomeo Pergami, of Cremona, Knight of Malta, has served in the etat-major of the troops commanded by his Excellency Count Pino, Lieutenant-General, to whom I was chief of the etat-major in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814.

"Le General-Major GALIMBERTI.

"*Dated Milan, Nov.* 1816.

"Seen and certified by me,

"Lieut.-Gen. Count PINO."

To this testimony of Baron Bergami's respecta-

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ability it will be proper to add the sworn statement of Sir William Gell, before the House of Peers, on the 7th of October, 1820. In alluding to the following fact I am somewhat anticipating the history of this worthy, but much calumniated, person, so far as his connection with the suite of her Majesty was concerned.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales having dismissed one of her couriers, it became necessary that his situation should be supplied by some other faithful and honest man. Accordingly she commanded her then chamberlains to look out for one suitable to that capacity. Sir William Gell and the Hon. Keppel Craven therefore made application to the Marquis de Gizilierghiri, Grand Chamberlain of Austria, and who had been appointed by General Bellegarde to attend on her Royal Highness, during her stay at Milan, in the capacity of chamberlain. The Marquis, glad of an opportunity to serve a worthy man, and to manifest his attachment to the interests of a reduced but honourable family, gladly embraced it to recommend to her Majesty's chamberlains Bartolomeo Bergami, whom he described as a person every way deserving her notice and patronage. He said that he knew Bergami's family, that they had fallen into distress by the events of the French Revolution; but the man himself was perfectly honourable, honest, and trust-worthy, and would be found so in any situation in which he should be employed. He added, that Bergami was considerably above the

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office into which he was about to enter, and he hoped that the Princess, if he behaved well in the family, as the Marquis was most certain he would, would gradually advance him in her household. He afterwards requested that Bergami might not always serve in a livery, which accounted for the fact of his never appearing in the dress of a courier after his arrival at Naples, but was always genteelly dressed in black.

Sir William Gell having been asked whether he had ever seen the Marquis above-named and Bergami in a room, or in the street together, replied that he had; and when the Marquis took leave of him, previous to his entrance upon his new service, it was in the open public streets at Milan. The Marquis was dressed in his uniform as grand chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria, and was at the time attended by his deputy chamberlain, and other Austrian officers. Just as Bergami was about to mount his horse, on this occasion, the Marquis advanced to him, took him round the neck, and kissed each of his cheeks, according to the general custom of salutation among equals in Italy!

Such was the estimation in which this most calumniated man, though then about to enter into the situation of a menial servant, was held by a marquis, at that time the chamberlain and representative of the Austrian government.

The following highly curious, and, I believe, authentic, narrative, has been published in Italian, and translated into French, from whence I have

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present it entire in an English dress. Did it contain fewer authentic marks of genuineness than it does, I should scarcely hesitate to give it a place in this volume, as a most curious, well-written, and highly interesting document. I will not, however, pledge myself for any thing more than the faithfulness of the translation. It will be proper, nevertheless, to make a few observations on this curious production, with reference to the probability of its being what it pretends to be, "Memoirs of Pergami, written by himself." That the Baron Bergami was capable of writing this, there cannot be any reasonable doubt; and that he really did do so, the natural simplicity of the style, and many other internal marks of its authenticity, would well authorize such a conclusion. If it were a mere fabrication, it would display some of those laboured efforts which frequently lead to the discovery of imposture. The publishers at Paris are known as men who would not willingly lend their names as a sanction to a literary cheat; and the plain preface of the translator is strongly corroborative of the actual existence of the work in the Italian language. But, indeed, that is beyond doubt. The simple circumstance of the allusion to two English lords in the Chamber of Peers shows a translator, and a faithful one. There is internal evidence throughout the whole, of authenticity.

Of that part of the narrative which states that the Queen was in the box at the masked ball with two English peers there cannot be the least dis-

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pute; but it is not generally known that those peers were the Earl of Oxford and Lord Byron, who were accompanied by Lady Oxford and her daughter. Convinced, upon the whole, of the truth and authenticity of this narrative, without, at the same time, pledging myself for either its genuineness or the absolute fidelity of its statements, such as it is, I think it proper to lay it before the reader in a perfect form.—

Memoirs of Monsieur the Baron Pergami, Chamberlain, Knight of Malta, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, &c.

Unless a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had condemned me to become the pretext of a trial, which, at the present moment, fixes the attention of the two worlds, I should never have exchanged the gratification of enjoying my recollections in peace for the fatal honours of celebrity; but as a wicked administration abuses my name, for the purpose of tarnishing the lustre of one of the finest crowns in Europe, and of ruining an amiable Princess, no less distinguished for the continuance and severity of her misfortunes, than for the splendour of her rank—I ought to speak; my silence would embolden calumny—my disclosures will make it pallid.

The journals have indulged in conjectures and discussions concerning my origin. I do not feel myself obliged to rectify their mistakes, or to reconcile their misrepresentations. What signifies my birth, if I have honourably spent the time which I have received from Heaven in common with other men? When Joan of Arc saved her king, did any one call upon her to give an account of her obscurity? For my part, without wishing to sacrifice to vain prejudice of the world, I feel some satisfaction in being now able to state, that previously to the calamities which overwhelmed it in the vortex of our political tempests, the house of my ancestors was not without fortune, nor without some consequence; but the tomb of my father was raised near to my cradle, and the memorial of his virtues, and a noble poverty, constituted the only inheritance of which his death put me in possession.

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Left to the care of a mother, whose piety was tinctured with superstition, I was, in infancy versed in the meditation of the Holy Scriptures, and my ardent mind dived with so much fervour into the mysteries of religion, that, if I had followed the counsels of my mother, it is probable that I should have entered into orders. But we cannot control fate; an irresistible power impels us, and Pergami was reserved to accomplish the purposes which Providence had thrown from heaven upon Pergami.

One morning, on awaking, I heard martial music; it was the music of a French regiment, which, having conquered the Austrians, was making its triumphal entry. A sudden emotion caused all my nerves to vibrate, and my heart to palpitate; I darted to the window, and the joy which gleamed upon the face of the soldiers, the splendour of their uniforms and equipments, and that glorious fascination connected with the contempt of life, all conspired to excite in my soul feelings to which I had previously been a stranger, and to tell me that the military profession should be my vocation. In vain I endeavoured to struggle against the ascendant which captivated my whole faculties; night, with its dreams, rendered me the hero which so deep an impression had made upon my heart. The sound of the trumpet still vibrated in my ear; my eyes still beheld, waving in the air, the standards decorated with the laurels of victory, and my hand was involuntarily stretched out, as if to grasp a sword.——Two days afterwards I was enrolled in the ranks of the army of Italy.

I acted at first as a private soldier in the great battles which have immortalized the French arms. A brilliant feat procured for me the decoration of the epaulet, and I served as an officer under the orders of General Pino, when there happened to me one of those events which, though seemingly vulgar, yet, re-acting upon an aspiring imagination, decided, forsooth, the destiny of my future life.

I went with some brother officers to the Villa F*** in the vicinity of Milan, where the Countess C*** gave a brilliant fête on the occasion of her daughter's marriage. The prevalent topic of conversation was a gipsy skilled in the science of palmistry, and whose predictions seemed to be so many emanations from heaven. The influence of her incantations had become a sort of new oracle which public curiosity eagerly went to consult. The Countess C*** thought to blend an agreeable variety with the pleasures of

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the entertainment, by inviting this celebrated fortune-teller to come and display her professional talents at the castle. The noble hostess had consecrated a mystic grotto in the most umbrageous part of the park; antique pillars supported the roof; and, to complete the illusion, a golden bough hung from the rocks; the interior of the cave was scarcely lighted by the feeble light of a sepulchral lamp. In approaching this secluded abode, the surrounding scenery predisposed the mind to meditation; and when chance, or more properly, some one of those inspirations, the mysterious workings of which are hid from "human ken" conducted me to the solitary cell, I could not divest myself of a certain religious awe, bordering upon terror. Futurity seemed to be rolling before my eyes. I was plunged into a deep reverie, whence I was suddenly extricated by the arrival of Countess O***, followed by all her company.

I placed myself so as to see all that passed. The bride removing the golden bough, the Sybil made her appearance; she uttered some magic words, and I understood that the mysteries were about to commence; then joining the hands of the new married couple, she fixed her eyes on them with a smile, and I guessed she was predicting to them a long and happy union; but they received this revelation with apparent apathy, for love had previously identified their hearts, and anticipated the effusions of the oracle! After viewing this interesting scene, I observed the Countess, in her turn, present her hand to the fortune-teller; but no sooner did she cast her eyes upon the querist, than assuming a ferocious look, she uttered some words which I did not comprehend, but which spread the paleness of death over all the features of the Countess; she seemed in a tremour, and ready to faint; the company pressed around her; all tendered their assiduities; she was carried to the castle in a state of insensibility. The crowd dispersed, and I alone remained with the magical being whose incantations had just produced such an incomprehensible effect.

Convinced that truth alone could be the cause of this extraordinary occurrence, I flew towards the gipsy, and entreated her to enlighten me also as to my destiny. Whether she felt vexed at the scene which had just occurred, or not choosing on that day to diffuse her oracles to any except to persons of high rank, she would not deign to listen to my request. She was pre-

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paring to enter the grotto; but, on a sudden, fixing her eyes upon me, she stopped, as if struck by some unexpected apparition, and her surprise allowed me to presume that I was, without doubt, one of those beings with whom heaven is sometimes pleased to hold secret communications.

I pass over in silence the early occurrences of my life, and the misfortunes of my family, which the Sybil traced with a fidelity which confirmed my confidence in her oracles. I shall relate only those predictions which are connected with the grand subject on which I write, and which have had such a powerful influence on my destiny. I think I still feel the chilly tremour which seized me when she told me in a solemn voice,—"You will be humbled in order to be exalted,—you will save a great Princess at the hazard of your own life,—the injustice of men will punish you for the gratitude of a woman,—your good fortune will sow the seeds of discord in a great empire, and your name will fill the world."

From the day of the above prediction, a change, which I cannot define, has been effected in my nature; my mind incessantly ruminating upon the extravagant fate that had been promised to me, I summoned my reason in vain to combat the fascinating chimera; all my endeavours to drive it from my thoughts only served to increase my predilection for it. At length, sunk in a melancholic reverie, I was, as it were, an alien to society; I became insensible to all the pleasures of one of my age; ambition, even, which had till now filled my mind, was extinguished; and, as if freed from my first existence, I felt myself wholly transported into the new world which the fortune-teller had created for me.

In this melancholy mood I quitted the service, and shut myself up in a hut in the neighbourhood of Turin. There, cutting off all connection with society, I abandoned myself without reserve to the ravings of my imagination, and to the hope of realizing them. The report of the arrival of a young Princess, whose beauty the chisel of Canova had just immortalized, happened to drag me from my retreat, and I fancied that the moment had arrived for the fulfilment of my destiny.

I repaired to Turin: in passing along the square of the grand theatre I was struck by the crowd who were collected at its doors. I concluded that the anxiety depicted in every face had for its object to obtain a sight of the Princess, and I mixed with the crowd of spectators who had come to admire her. She soon ap-

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spared, and her presence justified the eulogiums which had been lavished on her grace and dignity; but the sensation which I experienced at the sight of her not being mixed with any anxiety, and her countenance not having the power to distract me for a single moment from the object of my meditations, I conceived that this Princess was not the one who should have so much influence upon my future life. I left Turin to return to Milan, where I embraced my family, and a dear child, the only tie which still bound me to a vagarious and miserable existence.

Beginning to suspect the infallibility of the oracle, I had made the requisite arrangements for a long journey; the arrival of the Princess of Wales induced me to suspend my new projects, and to resume my former ideas. Desirous to ascertain the motives which had determined her to quit England, I became acquainted with an individual of her household. What this person related to me of the amiable qualities of the Princess, the generosity of her feelings, and particularly what he told me of her domestic afflictions, redoubled the ardent wish I had to see her: to this wish was presently superadded a more lively interest, and which coinciding with the opinion which I entertained, led me to several adventures, the result of which was, to convince me that the Princess was surrounded by enemies bent upon her destruction. Exaggerating, probably, the dangers she might incur, and my memory always impressed with the prediction of the gipsey, I now sought only one mode of gaining access to her Royal Highness. The friend whom I had in her establishment soon acquainted me that the Princess was endeavouring to find an Italian courier, who might serve her as a guide and interpreter in her journies. My natural pride spurned at an employment so obscure; but under the influence of fatality, and the recollection of these words—"*tu t'abaisseras pour t'elever*," I did not hesitate a moment to make application. Her Royal Highness deigned to receive me with affability, and I was immediately admitted to the number of persons who composed her suite.

O you whose frigid souls never felt the emotion of a presentiment accomplished, I will tell you truly the agitation of my mind, and body the first time that I had the honour to receive a command from the mouth of the Princess. Though I had not been informed of her sympathising disposition, the sound of her voice would have

revealed it to me, as her mild and melancholy looks would have apprized me of her virtues and her sorrows.

We set out for Naples, where we arrived on the 8th of October, 1814. I will not mention by what accident, fortunate or unfortunate, I had twice an opportunity, whether in traversing Calabria, whether during the first moments of our arrival at Naples, of saving the Princess from imminent danger. Her heroical generosity commanded secresy on those actions, which those who remain faithful to her will one day attest, and who will sufficiently legitimise the favours with which she has honoured me, and which some would, though in vain, impute to her as a crime.

One evening, when I was waiting in a cabinet near her Royal Highness's apartment for the dispatches which were to be intrusted to me, I heard the arrival of a certain very high personage announced. As this illustrious stranger excited in me a lively curiosity, instead of returning to the anti-chambers, I had the indiscretion, very wrong I admit, to listen, for the purpose of hearing his conversation with the Princess. It afforded me at first little gratification; but as the King manifested an anxiety to be acquainted with her Royal Highness's situation, I redoubled my attention to hear the communication which she made to him of her early afflictions; of the causes which led to the separation from the sole object which attached her to existence, from that adorable daughter whom she was never more to behold in this world; of the anxiety which preyed upon her mind, the dangers which threatened her life, and of the tyranny which condemned her to drag from city to city an accumulative load of sorrows and misfortunes. The Prince seemed to be so deeply affected by the recital, and imparted so much consolation to the Princess, that she placed no bounds to her confidence, and even went the length of relating to him the two occurrences to which I have alluded, and my name was mentioned. It does not become me to notice in this place the praises which her Royal Highness was pleased, in her bounty, to bestow upon my zeal and fidelity; but I cannot forget that she painted me to the Prince in colours which made me think, for a moment, that she had discovered the artifice I was practising. These words, "No! I cannot conceive that he was born for the situation which he fills in my service," produced in me much impatience, and they account for the audience granted to me by the

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Prince a week afterwards, on the occasion of my carrying to him an invitation to a grand entertainment which her Royal Highness intended to give in honour of him.

I was going to withdraw, after the delivery of my message to the page in waiting, when I was called back, and introduced to the closet of the King, who addressed me in these words:—

"I know your devotion for her Royal Highness, your august mistress, and I was desirous to know the person whom she describes as the preserver of her life. Of what country are you?"—"A native of Milan, Sire?" "Your family?"—"I beg your Majesty would excuse my naming my family." "What! have you cause to blush for the conduct of your father, or have you procured admission to the house of her Royal Highness by means of artifice or imposition?"

At these questions, uttered with a tone and emphasis which partook of contempt and menace, my pride revolted; and in order to escape from the blasting suspicion of being identified with the traitors and infamous mercenaries employed to watch the conduct, or, more properly, to asperse and vilify the reputation of this virtuous Princess, I resolved to make to the Prince a frank avowal of the motives which induced me to engage in the service of her Royal Highness, and I related to him in a few words the principal events of my life. Laughing heartily at the prophecy which had so much influence upon my conduct, the Prince did not appear to be at all surprised at the effect it had produced upon me; he no doubt called to mind the example of predestinations still more memorable! After satisfying him as to the purity and the disinterestedness of my motives, I threw myself at his feet, to implore him not to divulge the secret which I had communicated to him, under the seal of confidence; as also not to be the means of depriving me of the opportunity of serving, perchance of again being instrumental in saving the life of the Princess, and, finally, of realizing the whole of my destiny.

In a few days after this conversation, a child who accompanied the Princess, and for whom she had a great attachment, falling sick, I was directed to attend it during the night. This unexpected mark of confidence, this sort of respectful condescension, and one of those artifices which pride and rank can assume and turn to advantage, conspired to raise a suspicion that the King had betrayed me; but I took special care to conceal the uneasiness which

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this notion produced in my mind, and I used my best endeavours to merit a continuance of the esteem and the confidence with which this Princess condescended to honour me.

These marks of an affability peculiar to her Royal Highness produced the usual effect, and rendered me an object of envy to all who surrounded the Princess; but while they all envied the influence which they fancied I possessed, every one of them wished to use it for the furtherance of their sinister purposes; and to this motive I was indebted for the tender assiduities of one of her Royal Highness's female attendants. Some time passed before I found it out; but one day, wishing, no doubt, to try how far my indifference could go, she invited me to pass the evening in her apartment, with a few friends. I went in consequence, and soon found that the evening, which I had been given to understand was appropriated for the entertainment of a party, was consecrated to me alone. Miss —— did not suffer me to remain long in ignorance as to the real object of this *tête-à-tête*; and, as it did not become me to lend myself to such an intrigue, I departed, leaving her surprised either at the excess of my delicacy or at the inefficacy of her charms. I soon discovered that hatred and resentment had succeeded, in the heart of Miss ——, the tender sentiments which I had excited in her breast; but I could not till then form an idea of the extremity to which a slighted woman could carry her revenge.

A few minutes before we set out for that celebrated masked ball which was given in the Theatre San Carlos, the Princess ordered me to be called to her presence, and showing me the different dresses in which she should be disguised, she gave me the requisite commands to take care that she should be surrounded by persons upon whose fidelity she could best rely. She agreed with me upon a signal by which to recognise her, so great was her disguise, and described that by which I should follow her.

The ball had commenced some time, when I was accosted by a mask in the attire of a peasant girl, exactly resembling one of the dresses which I had seen got up for her Royal Highness. I conceived, at first sight, that it was actually the Princess; but the common-place observations, the indelicate songs, and the almost licentious manners of the female in the mask, soon satisfied me that I had been deceived; and being relieved from all doubts upon

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the subject, I directed my eyes to the royal box, where I discovered, by the distinctive sign, that the Princess was near to her Majesty. I now tried to guess who the individual could be that had assumed this *simulative* character; and as I knew that Miss —— alone was in the secret, I could not be mistaken as to the party, and being anxious to know the motive for the artifice, I instantly set about ascertaining it. I made advances in my turn, and the mask, taking my complaisance for a different sentiment, addressed me in the most flattering terms, and even added the most tender vows, to which I amused myself by answering in the same impassioned strain, when I perceived that we were followed by a domino, who was listening very attentively to our conversation. Fearing that our pleasantries might be misinterpreted by a third person, or possibly *noted* by some mischievous spy, whom the habiliments of Miss —— might have imposed upon, on separating I whispered in her ear—"The farce has been kept up quite long enough. In assuming the dress of your mistress, you ought, at the same time, to have assumed her decency and manners." She replied only by an angry expression, and I left her abruptly to go to the Princess, whom I found in the midst of a brilliant circle among whom I observed two noblemen who now sit in the House of Peers.

This circumstance, so frivolous in appearance, furnishes me with very serious reflections. On reaching my apartment I was puzzled to find out the motive that had induced Miss —— to act such a part, and I could not dissemble that her slighted self-love had interpreted my repulsive conduct in a way no less injurious to the reputation of the Princess than dangerous to myself. This idea brought to my recollection certain rumours which were previously in circulation, and which, to me, did not appear worthy of notice; but relying upon the purity of my conscience, and still more upon the dignity of the character of the Princess, I disdained to importune her by the recital of a scandal which might have produced a prejudice against a woman who seemed then to be devoted to her, and whose services were so acceptable.

The Princess was in the habit of taking airings on horseback in the environs of Naples. One evening her horse taking fright, ran off full speed: in a sudden effort to stop the animal I received from him such a violent kick, that I fell senseless on the ground.

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I was carried to Naples, and put into one of the apartments * near to that of her Royal Highness.

There I experienced the most assiduous attentions; the Princess herself did not disdain to come to inform herself of my condition, and to talk with the greatest concern of a wound of which she had been the innocent cause. August Princess! Could you have believed that this generous sympathy, worthy of a soul truly royal, should one day become the source of the most odious calumny!

In the month of March, the Queen, after reading a letter which bore the English post-mark, gave orders to prepare every thing for her speedy departure, and two days afterwards we set out for Rome; from thence we proceeded to Genoa, where we remained till the month of May. The Princess every where experienced a reception worthy of her rank and her character. I had observed, that since the receipt of the letter, to the contents of which I remained a stranger, her mind appeared to be agitated by a desultory sort of anxiety; at one time she would utter incoherent expressions, and in half finished sentences, betray the apprehensions which she tried in vain to dissemble; and it is to these secret alarms, those importunate forebodings, that I ascribe the injunction that she gave me to redouble my vigilance. I was from that time charged with the sole management of her household.

After our return from Milan, the Princess, satisfied, no doubt, with my zeal and my assiduity, notified to me her intention to reward them. I conjured her that she would be graciously pleased to confer upon my family the favours which she intended for myself; in consequence of this request it was that I had the honour of presenting to her my sister and my little Victorine, whose infantine graces had the good fortune to conciliate the favour and kindness of her Royal Highness; indeed so far, that she condescended, in a manner, to adopt her, by permitting her aunt to continue her education.

The inquisitorial surveillance which the commission at Milan exercised over the Princess disgusted her with her residence in

* This room I continued to occupy from the date of the discovery of the false keys, made by a guilty hand for the purpose of gaining admission to the Queen's chamber.

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that city, and we departed for Venice. It was there that Victorine was one day in my arms as the Princess was passing; her Royal Highness took from her own neck a golden chain, which she condescended to put round the neck of my child. This fresh proof of benevolence and generosity has not been less perverted or less productive of calumny than some others that preceded it.

At Como, the Princess, who knew that my birth did not render me unworthy of the distinction, honoured me with the title of chamberlain, and the Countess of Oldi, my sister, became lady of the palace.

After sojourning a short time at Como, we embarked for Greece, and my sister and myself received on board the vessel express commands not to quit her Royal Highness, or to leave her for a moment unattended by the one or the other of us. A tent was erected upon the deck for the reception of the Princess, and my sister and myself watched by turns while she was asleep.

On our arrival at Athens, in April, 1816, the Princess permitted us to accompany her to the places which she visited. I regret exceedingly that my memory does not enable me here to retrace the vivid description, and detail the classical observations which I heard from the mouth of her Royal Highness upon the magnificent ruins and the historical recollections which render this ancient city an object of curiosity and interest to travellers. We visited in succession the Aeropolis, the walls which surrounded the Propylæa, the Temple of Theseus, the Pnyx, and, above all, the majestic columns, the venerable remains of Jupiter Olympius, which still bear witness of the splendour and perfection of the sciences and the arts in Greece. The Princess recited many of the beautiful lines of Lord Byron on the subject.

At Ephesus I remember the Countess d'Oldi having advanced a few paces while we were exploring the ruins of the temple; we suddenly perceived, in the attitude of a statue, upon the ruins of an antique altar, the little Victorine, with her arms extended towards the Princess, and in the act of presenting her with a chaplet. Her Royal Highness condescended to smile at this homage of gratitude from a child; she took Victorine in her arms, and lavished upon her the most tender caresses.

From Athens we set sail for Syria. The moment we disembarked upon the shore, I protrasted myself, and, with a holy transport, kissed the land of our glorious redemption. The sen-

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sation which I experienced on entering Jerusalem never can be obliterated from the tablet of memory. I burned with a desire to visit the holy sepulchre, and the day after my arrival I repaired to the temple, accompanied by my sister and the child Victorine. I threw myself at the base of that monument, which, like that imperishable religion, of which it is the greatest mystery, has withstood so many assaults—remained entire through the lapse of so many centuries—and I returned thanks to Providence for having led me with his protecting hand even to the tomb of our blessed Saviour, to offer the tribute of my piety and gratitude. On this hallowed spot I implored heaven to shed upon a beloved infant its illumination and its saving grace, and to endow her with resolution and strength sufficient to resist temptation, and to triumph over all the assaults incident to this mortal life. To implore God for a continuance of our health and happiness, was to invocate Him for the health and happiness of *her* to whom I and my family were indebted for ours, and her august name was naturally blended with our prayers. The Princess, impelled by a desire to visit the holy places, found us in this religious attitude, and the echo of the sacred vaults bore to her the vows which we were in the act of offering up for her.

During my sojourn in the Holy City, I never omitted for a single day going to the sanctuary to offer my devotions to the Almighty, and I was no less regular in my visits to the Patriarchs of the Holy Sepulchre. The most reverend Antonia S———, a man of a highly cultivated mind, and of virtuous habits, admitted me to his friendship; and convinced of my piety, wishing also, perhaps, to confer a mark of distinction upon the chamberlain of the Princess, he decorated me with the order of the Holy Sepulchre, which I received from his hands with the most profound gratitude.—When I appeared before the Princess with this decoration, the idea of creating a new one immediately suggested itself, under the title of "the Order of St. Caroline of Jerusalem," of which her most faithful servants should be the first knights. This institution was the occasion of a solemn fete, in which young Austin and myself pronounced aloud the oath of remaining for ever faithful to the person and fate of the Princess,—an oath which was repeated by all those who surrounded her at the time,—an oath which, uttered in the most holy place in the world, would infallibly invoke the vengeance of heaven upon the guilty

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heads of those who should have the temerity to violate it. Woe be to the perjured!

The *Mutsellim*,* remarkable for the graciousness of his form and the mildness of his manners, gave the Princess a most cordial reception; with his own hand he presented her with coffee, and caused pipes and refreshments to be distributed to the whole suite. He gave us a dragoman to accompany us in the visit which the Princess was desirous to make to the Grand Mosque, a favour which the Aga concedes only to persons of high rank and consideration, and ordered the escort which was to attend her Royal Highness to the banks of the River Jordan.

In traversing the Valley of Jeosaphat, in our way to the Mount of Olives, we witnessed a very interesting and solemn scene. It happened to be the *fête des tombeaux*; the valley was covered with the descendants of those Jewish families whom the avarice of a despotic government compelled to pay in gold for the mournful indulgence of coming to weep over the graves of their ancestors; but there all the sepulchral stones do not bear the impression of age; some appear to have been recently erected, and the child who died only the night preceding reposes by the side of the chief who founded the tribe of his forefathers. In the midst of these monuments of the dead we observed a company of young virgins singing the hymn of lamentation. From the chaplet of white roses upon the coffin, and other decorations, we supposed that it was the funeral procession of a young woman, whom they were conveying to her last abode, when a female, with dishevelled hair, pale, and emaciated, and rending the air with her shrieks, threw herself upon the grave, as if desirous to become its inhabitant. "Ah!" exclaimed the Princess, "that is the mother!" She sprang towards the disconsolate woman, as if to compose her: we endeavoured to prevent her. "Do not stop me," said the Princess, "I am also a mother; and, perhaps, at this moment, death ..." In uttering these words she fainted, and we conveyed her back to Jerusalem, where she remained some time, overwhelmed with the forebodings which Heaven too soon realized. †

* The *Aga*, or Governor of Jerusalem.

† The melancholy event of the Princess Charlotte's death is known and felt by all; and I will not attempt to describe the affliction of her august mother on receiving information of the fatal blow which bereft her of all her hopes.

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The caravan being ready to set out, and Victorine being unwilling to quit the Princess, her Royal Highness bought for her an ass, upon which the child crossed the desert. It is singular, that notwithstanding the tenderness of her age, Victorine's health was not for a moment affected, while robust men were struck to the ground by *coups-de-soleil*. As a preventive, her Royal Highness ordered a water-melon cut in two, and one of the pieces was used as a covering for the head. The coolness of this fruit protects it from the intensity of the rays of the sun; but this experiment, which with her had the desired effect, occasioned to others who tried it most violent headache: this I experienced myself. At that season of the year the heat was so intense, that the brain of several persons in the suite of her Royal Highness was affected. I recollect that one day in particular her Royal Highness's dinner did not arrive at the usual hour: I went myself to ascertain the cause of the delay, and I found the cook brandishing a spit, dancing upon the scorching sand, and challenging the scullions to fight, at the same time proclaiming himself the first Knight of the Crusades. The physician whom I sent for was of opinion that the excessive heat of the sun had caused this delirium, and his treatment soon restored the patient to his reason, and his furnaces. After that occurrence, his companions called him the *Don Quixote* of the Desert.

At our departure from Syria the Princess had the condescension to ask Victorine what she wished to bring with her as a remembrance of her journey to Palestine. The child replied, that she wanted something, but durst not ask for it. Her Royal Highness replied, that whatever her wish might be, it should be gratified. "Well," said Victorine, "allow me to take my ass along with me." This funny answer made the Princess laugh heartily; the ass was put on board, and brought along with us to Italy.

On the passage nothing remarkable occurred. The same apprehensions as formerly existed, and the same watching by day and by night was kept up.

From the period that the Princess honoured me with her particular confidence, I was charged with the distribution of her gifts. As the medium of her bounty, I received a portion of the gratitude which was intended for her; and it can only be to this sort of feeling that I was indebted for the entertainment that was given to me by the ship's company on the 24th of August. Never did I

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more sensibly feel, or more highly prize, the honour of being in the service of a Princess so affable and generous.

When we returned to Italy, her Royal Highness being desirous to provide for the little Victorine, whose disposition and manners gained daily on her affections, ordered a house to be purchased for her in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the influence of a powerful impression induced me to choose that retreat near to the villa where so much happiness had been predicted by the sybil. Honoured by the presence of the Princess, it was in that retreat that my sister and I did every thing in our power to assuage the grief which had overwhelmed her ever since the death of her dear and amiable daughter.

At one time the Countess Oldi would invite from the city the company of comedians, who performed the most interesting scenes in the new operas. At another time we would amuse her by excursions upon the lake, where the gentle zephyrs mingled with the harmony of the band. In these concerts her Royal Highness was frequently amused by hearing the little Victorine sing this old French ballad.*

The maternal sorrows of the Princess experienced an accession by the occurrence of fresh causes of vexation. One day, when I was alone in my room, a servant, who was particularly under my superintendence, delivered to me a letter which he had received the same day, and which had greatly astonished him: it was couched in these terms:—

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* In lieu of the French original, which is somewhat obscure, the reader is requested to accept the following hasty English versification:—

At the feast of the village the shepherds contended,
To whom, as the wisest, there should be convey'd
A nosegay and crown, of the choicest flowers blended,
And lovely ENONE the umpire was made.

To DAPHNE, the gay, fair ENONE assigned it,
And, blushing, presented the merited prize;
But he at her feet soon most gladly resign'd it;
'Twas the sign of affection that beam'd in his eyes.

Then soon to the altar ENONE retired,
Devoting her heart to her DAPHNE alone;
Whilst love and affection her bosom inspired,
She swore to preserve both the nosegay and crown.—J. N.

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"If M. G**** A**** will give himself the trouble to pass, *alone*, to-morrow, at ten o'clock at night, in the street St. ***, No. 29, he will there find a certain person, who will give him information of the highest importance."

Certain reports which reached me having apprized me that several of the servants belonging to the Princess's establishment often went to the house indicated by the above note, I had the curiosity to ascertain the motive which took them there. I communicated the secret to G****, and taking one of his coats, I went to the place described, and introduced myself in his name. There I was received by an Italian, who was a total stranger to me, but whose appearance and manners removed the apprehensions which such a rendezvous was calculated to produce. After inquiring whether I was contented with my condition, he told me that I had it in my power, if I chose, to make my fortune for ever, by performing an eminent service. Desiring to know the nature of the service which was expected from G****, I did not hesitate to make a fair promise. The stranger then, at the conclusion of several questions respecting the conduct of the Princess, and the sort of favour which she granted to a certain chamberlain, added, that if I would make disclosures upon her different voyages and journeys, and keep a regular journal of the actions, conduct, and movements, and would note down the conversations of her Royal Highness, I should be handsomely rewarded, and exempted from any unpleasant inquiries or exposures.

Determined to lend myself to any project, for the purpose of deriving from this discovery all the advantage that I had reason to expect from it in behalf of her Royal Highness, I answered that I should be well disposed to undertake the required service, but that I was fearful that I should be betrayed by the vigilance of the individuals about the Princess, and whose zeal would assuredly denounce me to her, and make me lose my situation, if she entertained the slightest suspicion of such an enterprise. I described the two persons whom I had the greatest reason to dread, and it was not without surprise that I observed the stranger to smile at the mention of their names. "Make yourself perfectly easy," said he; "those two persons have been long in the secret, and have received more than once the reward of their disclosures. It is through them that I have already procured the scandalous motive for the astonishing success of the Courier Pergami."

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At these words I could scarcely restrain my indignation; but, apprehensive lest I should commit myself, and lose by indiscretion the object of my undertaking, I dissembled, and concealed under a look of approbation the horror which this excessive perversity produced in me. Encouraged by my apparent confidence, and still more by the assurances that had been given him of the facility of bribing G****, the stranger gave me to understand that those two individuals, connected as much by interest as by kindred habits of debauchery, mutually promised to lay new snares for the benignity, the credulity, and the honour of her Royal Highness, and recommended me not to suffer any opportunity to pass without giving him information on these matters, which it was of consequence for him to know. In attending me to the door he put into my hand a paper, which I afterwards found to be a bank note of twenty pounds.

I passed the entire night which succeeded this interview without being able to close my eyes. The necessity of communicating to the Princess the existence of the conspiracies which were hatching against her under her own roof occupied my undivided attention.

At an early hour in the morning I informed her Royal Highness of what had passed over night. The Princess, in the excess of her benevolence, refused to give credence to relations of such monstrous perfidy; but having received, by means of intercepted letters, a confirmation of the statement, she determined to dismiss the authors, and soon afterwards they received their discharge.

It was at that period that her Royal Highness, in order to relieve her mind from grief and vexation, and to escape from the inquisition of a colonel, unfortunately too famous at the present day, undertook a tour to the mountains of the Tyrol. The Princess sent me privately one day to Inspruck, with commands to bring back dispatches which she would intrust to me alone. I set not a moment, and not being able to return from that town till midnight, I felt it my duty to awaken her Royal Highness, for the purpose of rendering an account of the message to which she attached so much importance. It is astonishing that calumny should have perverted into a crime an occurrence so trifling in itself.

The life of the Princess was gliding on in a peaceful retreat: her chief occupation consisted in distributing her daily charities;

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and the blessings of the surrounding population began to reconcile her to live in a foreign land, when an English messenger arrived with intelligence of the decease of his Majesty King George III. The painful task of announcing that lamentable event to the Princess devolved upon me. I went into her cabinet, and thus addressed her in a tremulous voice:—

"Madam,—you are become a Queen!" "O my God!" she exclaimed, "I have lost all!" She gave vent to her grief in a flood of tears. "Alas," she added, "I shall never more behold my protector—my only friend—the man whose heart was to me an asylum against persecution. What will become of me?"

At these words she was overwhelmed with such excessive affliction, that her health continued for several days in a very precarious state; even the prospect of speedily appearing among a people that adores her could not mitigate the bitterness of her grief; and we often heard her say, "Of what use is a crown to *me*, since it cannot now adorn the head of my daughter?"

To so many wounds inflicted upon a heart of infinite sensibility were superadded outrages against her honour and dignity; and, instead of returning to her dominions to receive the homage of a great nation, and to shed a tear upon the tombs of a revered father and an adorable daughter, she could not appear amongst her subjects without being loaded with a weight of a criminal accusation. Who would believe it? It is against the beloved daughter of George III.—it is against the dignified mother of the unfortunate Princess Charlotte, that they presumed to propose and sanction the erasure of her name from the public prayers,—to accept an honourable exile, and to barter her sceptre and her honour for some millions. She promptly made her election—she traversed France, and in that country it was that I bade her, perhaps, an eternal adieu!

Fame has amply blazoned the reception which England gave to her Majesty. It belonged to a people, the first, who determined to be governed by justice and liberty, to declare themselves the noble defenders of innocence. How deeply have I been affected by the noble eloquence of the following letter, which all Europe have read with admiration—a letter in which the force of truth is united with the dignity of a royal soul! *

* The letter here alluded to shall be given at the time in which

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During my short stay at Paris, where I left my daughter under the care of a respectable governess, I had the satisfaction of observing that some of the most distinguished men in France avowed themselves to be strenuous partisans of the Queen, and lamented, in common with all virtuous men, the deplorable spectacle which that scandalous trial exhibits to all Europe, and unite their wishes with those of the noble lords, the Greys, the Norfolks, the Hollands, the Lansdowns, the Erskines, the Broughams, the Woods, &c. &c. who have already consecrated the influence of their virtues, and the energy of their senatorial talents, in defending the most noble of causes.

This cause will undoubtedly triumph; but if this triumph should for an instant hang in a doubtful balance, then will I rend in pieces the veil which, from motives that will readily occur to any one, I have deemed it expedient to suffer to remain over certain transactions, and over some of the actors who have performed prominent characters in this novel and momentous drama.

When we come to detail the alarming and singular proceedings against the illustrious subject of these Memoirs in the House of Lords, we shall frequently discover proofs of the general truth of the foregoing curious narrative. Many of its facts are confirmed, and that upon points on which it was hardly possible that any one, except the Baron Bergami himself, or some one in his confidence, could have been informed.

After the statement of this fact, it will be scarcely necessary to notice the diabolical malignity with which this excellent man's character has been pursued by those who, in seeking the destruction of

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the events which gave rise to it can with propriety be recorded. It is the celebrated letter of the Queen to the King, dated Brandenburgh House, August 7, 1820.

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her chamberlain's character, were aiming a deadly blow at their Queen herself. They who could (as some anonymous reptiles have dared to do) designate Bergami by the term *Figlio di Facchino*, a term which, though literally meaning "the son of a porter," is considered among the Neapolitans as one of the greatest reproach—meaning a "*vagabond, gipsey*, or the scum of society," are utterly unworthy of the smallest credit, whilst their statements of him have received the most palpable contradiction, by the oaths of honourable and respectable men. I will not, therefore, defile my pages by retailing any portion of the falsehoods and libels with which Baron Bergami's character and honour have been assailed by anonymous writers, under the hypocritical signatures of *Veritas*, *Candidus*, and the like. *Veritas* is, in these times, frequently the greatest of liars; *Candidus*, a most illiberal and cunning rascal; and *Philo* a saucy and malignant pedant.

An offer of the brevet rank of captain from the unfortunate Joachim, King of Naples, was refused by M. Bergami, who preferred the service, humble as his situation then was, of the Princess of Wales.

I have already noticed the disingenuous conduct of those who have endeavoured to attach blame to her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, for her visits to the late King of Naples, and have stated, that, at the time she so visited him, Murat was the friend and ally of Great Britain, or at least the

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acknowledged sovereign of Naples. Some little further notice of that ill-fated monarch may not be here unamusing or uninstructive.

Towards the end of the year 1814, and at the commencement of the following year, the utmost discord prevailed at the congress of Vienna. Austria, France, and England united, by a secret convention, against Russia and Prussia—two powers which appeared to put no bounds to their pretensions. Such, at least, were the views which many enlightened men at that time entertained of those powers. Prussia, it was said, wished to unite Dresden to its territory; but this was contrary to the interest of Austria. France, supported by Spain,—which, by the way, was but a sorry support to any power—demanded from the court of Vienna, in recompense for its support—that it should consent to the Bourbons of Sicily being permitted to reascend the throne of Naples. Austria refused, as much through jealousy of the House of Bourbon, as in order not to betray MURAT, who had contributed so much to the success of the allies in 1814, by making common cause against Bonaparte. This is the confession of Napoleon himself concerning his brother-in-law, the Neapolitan sovereign. And I need not remark, that ingratitude to Bonaparte was never yet deemed by his enemies a reason why the ingrate should not be visited and honoured as the friend of Napoleon's foes. Joachim had decided some of the events of the late war. His own army consisted of 50,000

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men. If with this he had joined the Gallo-Italian army, which was commanded by the Viceroy of Italy, it would, in all probability, have compelled that of Austria to remain for the defence of Carinthia and the Tyrol. The army of the Viceroy was superior to that of Field-Marshal Bellegarde, but it was kept in check by the Neapolitan forces. Thus the weight which Murat put into the scale on the above occasion was 120,000 men.

The year in which her Royal Highness visited the Neapolitan court, for which some persons affected to blame her, as the friend of a revolutionary monarch, and the relation of Bonaparte, Murat's army was extremely formidable; yet it contained 2000 French, Corsican, or Italian commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who quitted its ranks as soon as they received the circular by which Count Molé, grand judge, recalled the French from the service of Naples. In the following year, and but a few days before Bonaparte's quitting Elba, that wretch being dispatched a messenger to Naples, to make known to that court his intention to return to France, and to desire Murat would send a courier to Vienna, ordering his ambassador to notify to that court that France would continue to execute the treaty of Paris; and, above all, that its pretensions to Italy were completely renounced. Murat, however, refused to join the standard of Bonaparte; and through, perhaps, a rash enterprise, to maintain the independence of Italy, he fell a victim to the

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rage of his enemies. As Bonaparte afterwards chose to express it, Murat, twice a prey to the strangest fatality, was as often the cause of their (the French) misfortunes; in 1814, by declaring war against France; and in 1815, by a similar step with regard to Austria.

The subsequent history of Murat sufficiently shows, that, however unfortunate his career, however disgraceful his death, at the time he was visited by the Princess of Wales he was the friend and supporter of the legitimate sovereigns of Europe, against the intentions and invasions of Bonaparte. The Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, Sir Robert Wilson, the Marquis of Sligo, Lord Oxford, the Earl of Landaff, General Matthews, and several other English noblemen, and other persons of rank, were mentioned as his particular friends and acquaintance. If, as Lord Castlereagh (now the Marquis of Londonderry) afterwards attempted to prove, Murat was engaged in carrying on a perfidious correspondence with Napoleon during the time he was engaged to act with the allies, a charge, however, which, I believe, had no foundation whatever, that fact could not be known to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, any more than to any of the noble and honourable English personages who, in 1815, visited the Neapolitan Court.*

* The following account of Murat's death may not be uninteresting to the reader. After this unhappy king's expulsion from his Neapolitan dominions, and the restoration of Ferdinand IV. as king of the Two Sicilies, Joachim suffered the greatest privations.

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It has already been mentioned that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales arrived at Naples

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He wandered about in various parts of the South of France, in woods and forests, and afterwards in the island of Corsica, sometimes without food, and almost without clothing. At length, however, becoming known in that island, his cause was espoused by a few desperate and courageous individuals; and he resolved, in defiance of the most earnest entreaties of some of his warmest friends, to make an effort to regain the throne of Naples, having, only the same year, been totally defeated by the Austrians in the North of Italy. Murat sailed from Ajaccio in the night between the 28th and 29th of Sept. 1815.

At the time of the King's sailing, (says Mr. Macirone, who had been Murat's aide-de-camp, but an Englishman by birth,) as well as for a considerable time before, the weather had been uniformly fine and serene; but on the night after his sailing, a violent storm dispersed his little squadron, which consisted of five small vessels. The intention of the King had been to land at Salerno, which is within thirty miles of Naples, and where a considerable number of old Neapolitan troops were reorganizing. On the storm subsiding, he found himself at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Euphemia, entirely separated from the rest of his squadron. Thus situated, he, for reasons with which I am not well acquainted, decided on landing immediately in the vicinity of Pizzo, in preference to returning towards Salerno, in search of the rest of his force. The felucca which carried the King was the smallest and the swiftest of the flotilla. Besides sailors, the number of persons on board consisted of thirty-one, all veteran officers, amongst whom was General Franceschetti. These, with the King at their head, who was habited in a splendid uniform, landed within half a mile of the town of Pizzo. At this eventful moment, the first who re-beheld the person of their heroic but unfortunate sovereign were a few soldiers, called coast-guards, who, from curiosity, or in execution of their duty, had repaired to the spot where he landed. Some of the men immediately recognised the King, and placing their *shakos* on their bayonets, saluted him with the most enthusiastic cheers. He now lost no time in proceeding with his party to the town of Pizzo, and arrived at the market-place, where he addressed the throng by which he was surrounded. Many of the inhabitants saluted him as king, and prepared to join him; the rest manifested a degree of timidity and suspense. He, however, did not think proper to wait there to increase his force; but having been supplied by the inhabitants with a sufficient number of horses, immediately proceeded towards Monteleone.

It may be necessary to observe that the principal part of the

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on the 8th of November, 1814, and that she was met a few miles from that city by the King of

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town of Pizzo and its dependencies belong to the Spanish grandee, the Duke del Infantado. This circumstance naturally gives to the agent of the duke, who resides there, much influence over the inhabitants. The King had no sooner quitted the town, than this agent of the duke harangued the people in the market-place, appealing principally to their fears, and demanding whether they could be aware of the dreadful punishment and extermination to which they would be subjected for not having opposed the progress of the invader. He thus contrived to induce several of the people to take up arms, and place themselves under his command. In the mean time King Joachim was hastening towards Monteleone: he had not, however, proceeded far before he was met by a colonel of gens d'armes, named Trentacapelli, who was on his way from Monteleone to Pizzo. The King invited the Colonel to join him, and proceed with him to Monteleone; but the Colonel, fearing perhaps to confide in such apparent feeble means, respectfully declined the proposal, and pointing towards Monteleone, he observed, "he would regard *him* as his sovereign whose flag he should behold flying on the castle." On this the King imprudently suffered him to proceed to Pizzo, where he found the agent of the Duke del Infantado using his utmost influence with the people to induce them to arm in the cause of Ferdinand. The arrival of the Colonel gave a new impulse to this measure; he united his efforts and authority to the persuasions and influence of the agent, and without loss of time put himself at the head of a strong party, and hastened to pursue the King, who by this time had got half way to Monteleone.

The Colonel and his party had not proceeded far from the town before his approach was perceived by King Joachim, whose ruin was at this moment consummated by a most fatal mistake. It occurred to the King and his followers that the armed party, which, from their elevated situation, they could see at a considerable distance, had been collected by Colonel Trentacapelli, with the intention of joining them. With this idea the King suspended his march, thinking it more advisable to await this expected reinforcement previous to his entrance into the city of Monteleone. On the nearer approach of these supposed friends, the King advanced some steps to meet them, and some of his little troop shouted "*viva il Ré Gioachimo!*" when, to their surprise, they were answered by a volley of musketry. A sharp contest immediately ensued; the King's party fought desperately; some of them were killed, and many wounded. It was not possible for them entirely to disperse a force so superior in point of numbers, and they could not advance to Monteleone with these enemies in their rear; the King therefore

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Naples and his Court; a mark of respect which did not fail to excite indignation in the breasts of

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determined to regain his vessel. Followed by General Franceschetti, and about twelve others, he rushed through the thickest of his enemies, of whom he slew several with his own hand, and discharged his last pistol in the face of Colonel Trentacapelli, but without killing him. The hostile party were astonished by this daring attack, and thrown into confusion, when the King, profiting by their consternation, pushed forward, and reached the beach, where he had left his vessel, himself unhurt, though all the others were wounded.

At this moment he would undoubtedly have been saved if his vessel had been there to receive him, but she was standing out to sea. The commander, Captain Barbara, had heard the firing between the King and his pursuers, and consulting only his own safety, left the coast, and abandoned the King to his fate. In this desperate situation the King threw himself into the water, and gained a fishing-boat which lay close at hand. Franceschetti and the rest followed him. The boat was unfortunately aground, and the King's efforts to push it off proved ineffectual. Finding this boat immoveable, the King again threw himself into the sea, and got into another, a very small one, which was about twenty yards distant from the other. By this time the beach was crowded by the King's pursuers, but none of them now attempted to fire at him, nor dared to approach him; all stood gazing at him in astonishment, and in the little boat he might have escaped, but it was unfortunately fastened to the shore, and he could not disengage the rope. The fisherman to whom it belonged, perhaps from the fear of losing it, at length seized the head, and pulled it towards the beach, while one of his companions waded into the sea, got into the boat, and attempted to seize the King, who struck the fellow on the head with his fist, and knocked him overboard. Numbers now followed the example of the two fishermen, and the boat was completely surrounded, but still no one attempted to offer violence to the King's person. He stood up unarmed in the midst of his assailants, entreating them to suffer him to depart, and, as a last hope, produced his passport for Trieste. Finding his persuasions and resistance useless, he was constrained to deliver himself into the hands of his enemies.

The intelligence of the event was immediately conveyed by telegraph to Naples. The military commander of the district, lately placed there by King Ferdinand, received orders by the same expeditious conveyance to assemble a court-martial to try King Joachim. The trial was very summary: the King received his sentence with a smile of contempt and indignation. He wrote a most affectionate farewell letter to his wife and children, which he ear-

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the Queen's enemies; but which, as I have before shown, were worthy for her to receive, and his Neapolitan Majesty to give.

On the evening of the 9th, her Royal Highness, with her suite, attended the Opera, and the following day she was visited by all the rank and fashion, both English and Neapolitan, in the city. She had, however, very shortly, abundant reason to think it necessary that her person should be diligently watched over and guarded; for it requried no extraordinary powers of divination to discover that spies were, as usual, actively employed to mark her steps, and entrap her to her destruction. Of this, indeed, she had already had some previous intimation; and, accordingly, such a disposition of her sleeping, and other retiring rooms, was made as was thought necessary for her protection, with respect to the rooms of those on whom she could depend for her safety and defence against any midnight attacks that might be made upon her.

Before we proceed with the narrative of her Royal Highness's residence at Rome, it will be proper to take some notice of the situation in which she found herself shortly after her arrival in Italy,

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nestly begged might be safely delivered. He declared that he thought it incumbent upon him to die in the profession of the religion in which he had been educated, and requested the assistance of a clergyman, from whom he received the Eucharist. He had upon his person a portrait of his queen and children, which he placed upon his breast; and refusing to sit upon a stool which was offered him, or to have his eyes covered, he smiled upon his executioners, and received the fatal fire. This was on the 13th of Oct. 1815.—*Macirone's Interesting Facts relating to the Fall and Death of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, &c.*—pp. 102—108.

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with respect to her English attendants. The following, I believe, will be found to be a pretty faithful, though succinct account of this matter: some slight inaccuracies may possibly have crept into it; but, upon the whole, the reader may rely on the truth of the details. We have already seen who were the persons that accompanied her Royal Highness from England to Brunswick. Either at this place, or shortly after she entered Naples, those persons disposed of themselves nearly as follows:—

Lady Charlotte Lindsay, agreeably to an arrangement previously made, repaired to the Spa, either to join her sister, Lady Glenbervie, or on account of her health. She rejoined the Princess at Naples, who, after four months' abode in that town, quitted it, on account of the expense and the approaching political changes, and repaired, towards the end of March, to Genoa. Lady Elizabeth Forbes, desiring to see her sister in England, returned there and left Lady Charlotte Lindsay with the Princess. Mr. Craven was obliged to return to Germany on family affairs, and in order to meet his mother, the Margravine of Anspach. Sir William Gell, being attacked by the gout, could not remain with the Princess any longer; and therefore asked for a few months' leave of absence. Captain Hesse was obliged to rejoin his regiment, in consequence of war being resumed. The Princess finding herself without an English chamberlain, wrote to Mr. St. Leger to join her at Genoa,

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with his family; at the same time offering the post of maid of honour to his daughter. Her Royal Highness dispatched many letters to press this arrangement, but he declined, alleging his ill health as the reason. The Princess then offered a place to Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, who were at Naples; but they also refused, pleading the different purpose of their travelling. From the same motives of health, Mr. William Rose, the brother of the English minister at Berlin, refused to join her Royal Highness. Mr. Davenport also refused, saying that he must return to England. In the same way, Mr. Hartop, cousin to Mr. Brougham, set out for England, to see his family. At Naples, her Royal Highness was obliged to part with Dr. Holland; with Mr. North, brother of Lady Charlotte Lindsay; and with Mrs. Falconet, the wife of her banker, who wished to visit her children in Switzerland. Mr. North and Lady Charlotte Lindsay left the Princess at Brunswick, to return to their parents in England. At Genoa, the Princess found Lady Glenbervie, her former lady of honour, with her lord, who remained with the Princess seven weeks. The Princess sent for Captain Hownam from England, to be her private secretary, and he joined her at Genoa. The Clerinde frigate brought Lady Charlotte Campbell and family, consisting of six young ladies, to Genoa from Nice. The Princess engaged a lodging for them and their governess, at her own expense,

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while Lady Charlotte remained with her at her palace.

When the Princess departed for Milan, the above family accompanied her, her Royal Highness paying the expenses of their journey and table. Some weeks passed away, when Lady Charlotte received a letter from her cousin, Mrs. Damer; and departed to join her at Lausanne.

Lady Charlotte Campbell, hoping to become the heir of her cousin, to whom she was moreover under many obligations, and leaving the Princess suddenly, her Royal Highness offered to take her eldest daughter as a maid of honour;—she refused, which was accounted for by the young lady's marriage a few months afterwards, to Sir William Cumming. The Princess was then in a new embarrassment to obtain an English lady, always solicitous to have English about her. She therefore made similar propositions to Lord and Lady Malpas, then at Milan; but they were rejected.

After so many desertions and refusals on the part of the English, her Royal Highness saw herself under the necessity of forming a court of Italians.

The persons whom I have named, form in themselves a proof of the truths which I have advanced; and no additional justification is necessary. Her Royal Highness departed from England with a court composed almost entirely of English; by whom she was gradually forsaken. She sought by every possible means to replace

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them by others of the same country; but owing to pretexts of ill health, fears, real or pretended, of long journeys; homesickness; the desire of seeing friends and relations; and other motives, sincere or otherwise, the Princess saw herself as it were deserted and alone. Calumny, which in spite of notorious facts, represented her Royal Highness as the cause of the absence of the English, ought then to have been silent; and not have sought to diffuse injurious suspicions under new forms, to have it believed, that antipathy on the part of her Royal Highness, a wish to remove impertinent spies, or the little esteem entertained for her by the English, induced her to send them all away from her court.

Facts, a sort of proof which is always the most decisive, sufficiently answer the two first of these defamatory suppositions; and with respect to the third, it is absurd. Could it be conceived that the English had ceased to love and esteem on the Continent, a Princess, who in England obtained the suffrages of the whole nation? What then could be the cause of this removal of the English from her court? It has been already remarked—motives of a personal nature, on the part of the individuals who composed her suite: to which must be added, as the greatest of all, the fear of incurring disregard at the court of London; a fear but too well founded, if the subsequent situation of the Prince and Princess of Wales be considered. It cannot be doubted, that it was on this ac-

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count so few of the English who visited Italy paid their respects to her Royal Highness. Conscious of the unfavourable disposition of the Prince Regent, they were fearful of the dangers, by no means chimerical, which they might incur by the most simple mark of attention to the Princess.

The Princess saw the motive of this reserve, and was not disposed to resent it; on the contrary, she thought it her duty to receive but a small number of those who presented themselves. She could calculate with confidence upon those who supported the national character; but such was not the case with all the English; and she found herself under the distressing necessity of regarding some of them as hired spies. Her suspicions, unfortunately, were too well realized.

Notwithstanding the departures of the English from the suite of her Royal Highness, even so late as December, 1815, her court, with one exception, namely, Captain Hesse, who, however, belonged to the British army, consisted entirely of English persons, and so it remained till the busy emissaries set to watch and malign her conduct, had so far succeeded in their diabolical machinations, as to leave her Royal Highness no other resource than to form a court almost wholly of Italians. Her enemies, however, never ceased to reproach her with that to which their own conduct and persecutions had absolutely driven her. Her Italian court was, nevertheless, by no means of

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Engraved by R. Page.

COUNTESS OLDI.

Formerly Lady of Honour to Her Majesty.

Published by J. Robins & Co. Ivy Lane London, Dec. 30 1826.

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a low or a disgraceful nature; and although, whilst resident in the city of Naples, all the persons who generally formed her court and household during her stay in Italy did not constantly reside at her house, it will be proper, to prevent repetition in future, here to take some notice of those respectable individuals, and others who subsequently proved that they were any thing but respectable, who composed her suite. Besides those already mentioned, we have to notice several who joined her afterwards.

The Countess Oldi, of Cremona, a sister of the Baron Bergami's, and a lady respectable for her qualities and misfortunes, was for a long time lady of honour to her Royal Highness. She afterwards resided with the Queen in England.

Dr. Mochetti, of Como, formerly professor of botany, agriculture, and natural history, the author of many esteemed productions, forming part of the records of various academies, of which he is a member, had the honour to be her physician. This gentleman was well known to the republic of letters, by his skill as a physician; and his name, which is still celebrated in Italy, is not unknown to foreigners. He attended her Royal Highness on a part of her travels.

Mr. Robert Hownam, already mentioned, a lieutenant in the navy, came from England at the invitation of her Royal Highness. He attended her as a private secretary; and is a brave man of

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an excellent character, and elevated principles. He also remained with the Queen.

The Count Schavini, of a noble and opulent family of Cremona, was first equerry to her Royal Highness. He is as estimable for his integrity of character and cultivation of mind, as for his noble manners. He also came to England.

The young W. Austin, Knight of Jerusalem, was also her equerry.

Mr. Louis Bergami presided over her household.

Mr. Vallotti Bergami, formerly under prefect at Cremona, was comptroller of disbursement, and brother of B. Bergami.

Her Royal Highness honoured with her particular confidence the Chevalier Tomasia, prefect of a department under the late government of Italy. His intimate knowledge of the belles-lettres, of philosophy, of politics, statistics, and public economy, is well known in Italy, by various useful works, which have given him a distinguished place among learned men. He thus merited all the esteem and consideration with which he was honoured by her Royal Highness; as did also the distinguished professors, Count Volta, and M. Configliachi. In the same manner, M. Caveletti, formerly equerry to the late Emperor Napoleon, and the Chevalier Vassali, attached to the Queen's interest, persons of consideration, had frequently the honour to attend the court of her Royal Highness.

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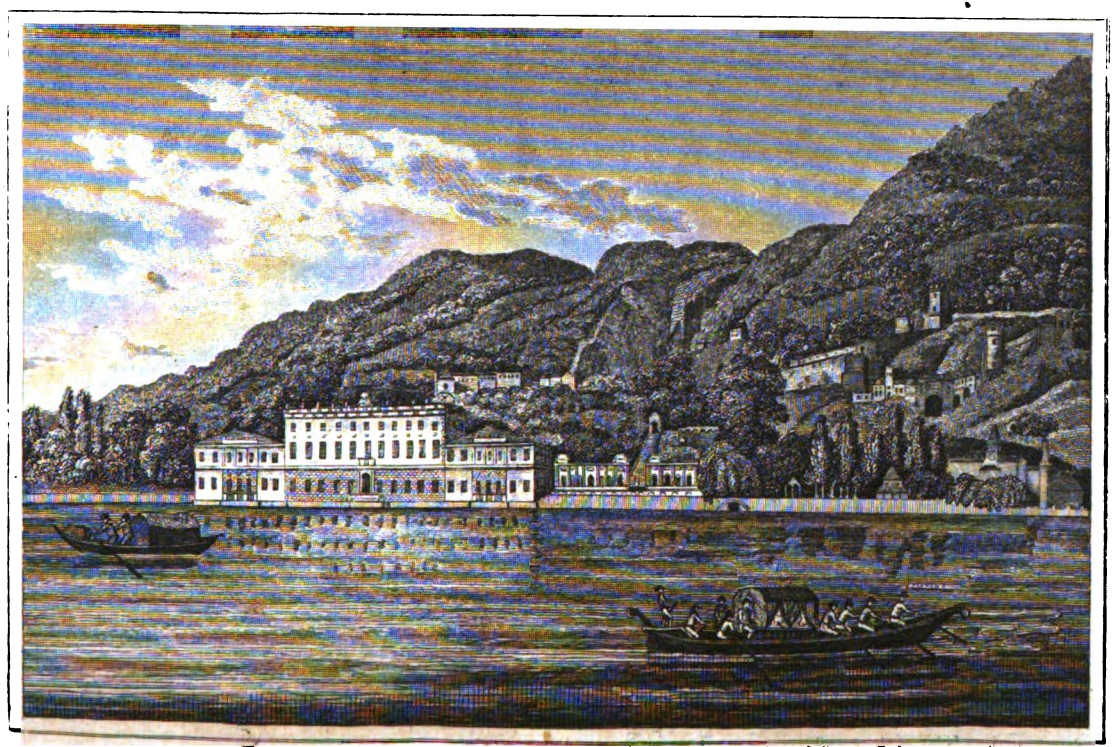

THE VILLA D'ESTE.

Her Majesty's late residence on the Lake of Como.

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Her law adviser was the advocate M. Joseph Marocci, of Milan; well known in his profession. She subsequently appointed as her Italian advocate Mr. Codazza, whose name we shall have occasion again to mention further on.

Her Royal Highness purchased of the Countess Pino a pleasant casimo, upon the bank of the Lake of Como, at a short distance from that city. A delicious climate, the surrounding country varied and beautiful; a house, the front of which is directly upon the lake, gardens which seem almost suspended in the air, form altogether a scene of enchantment.* Her Royal Highness had an avenue of trees planted at her own expense, of nearly two miles in length, reaching from Como to her house. Generous and splendid in her ideas, she formed of the house of a private individual a royal palace; peace, order, and harmony reigned in her family; it could scarcely be believed that it was the court of a great Princess. Many persons were astonished that she did not receive the nobility of the neighbouring town; but her Royal Highness, who, by principle, did not love etiquette, who wished to be at liberty, and whose mode of life was always simple, never sought the society of any noble, at the same time, those who were presented to her were never ill received.

She was accessible to all, she was affable; in her there was no affectation or caprice, she was mild

* See the annexed plate.

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towards every body; she knew not how to be a great Princess, except in doing good. Who would believe, nevertheless, that even at Como, there, where a part of her money was circulated, and where, more than in any other place, her beneficence and generosity were exerted—who would believe, that even in this town unworthy stories of her were handed about, whence they made their way more extensively; that as much ill was spoken of her as she did good to the inhabitants. There are not wanting princes who are extolled for their goodness and popularity; but in them, let us say it without circumlocution, it is rather the effect of policy than a natural quality, since, according to them, this might derogate from their dignity. Her Royal Highness was always the same at all times and in all circumstances; the idea of her greatness never betrayed her; she was in principle, in her heart, what perhaps many others are only upon calculation and reflection.

A society of persons of probity and select, though not composed of the great; a table were gaiety presided, music, dramatic performances in her own private theatre, walking, riding on horseback or in the carriage, or rowing in a gondola, these were the innocent pleasures which she enjoyed tranquilly at her casimo, quitting it rarely, indeed scarcely ever, for the bustle of the town.

The Italians remarked in the Princess of Wales a cultivated mind, a ready and sure judgment, a brilliant imagination, an unvaried gaiety in all her

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movements and in her conversation; her greatness detracted nothing from the lively interest which her conversation inspired.

It were easy to cite an infinite series of her good deeds, but the delicate silence of the benefactress imposed it upon those who were near her as a duty not to mention them. The following fact is, however, too notorious not to be inserted here: a house at Como being on fire, her Royal Highness immediately sent 1200 livres for the assistance of the unfortunate victims who suffered by it.

This picture may perhaps appear, to those who are little instructed on the subject, or who are prejudiced, partial and exaggerated; but a picture drawn from attested facts, and supported by the testimony of a thousand ocular witnesses, cannot be suspected, except by those who, like Malebranche, will not apply their eyes to the telescope, lest they should see the spots in the sun.

Her Royal Highness having been abandoned by the English who composed her court, and not having been able to replace them by others of the same nation, finding herself thus insulated, formed an Italian court. The Marquis Counsellor Ghisglieri recommended several ladies to her acquaintance; and he it was who introduced to her the Countess of Oldi, a lady of great merit. In the month of June, 1815, Dr. Holland also quitted the Princess, to return to England, there to publish his travels, and to see his aged father; but, as we have already remarked, he afterwards rejoined her.

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It was a short time after, that an infamous plot was formed against the Princess of Wales, the high origin of which it is not difficult to guess. Mr. William Burrell, the son of a person of great distinction in England, was at Milan at the same time with the Princess. Always disposed to have English about her, she proposed his remaining with her some months; he consequently accompanied her Royal Highness in her journey to Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice; but not being disposed, on account of his health, to undertake a long voyage by sea, he left the Princess at Como, in the month of August, at the house of the Marchioness Villani, in the Borgo Vico. One of his servants, named White, set himself about circulating ridiculous and exaggerated stories of what passed in the house of her Royal Highness. Mr. Burrell went to Brussels; and it was at the great inn in that city that White told these stories of the Princess, in the most scandalous and indecent manner, to the servants of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, who were there on their way to England. These tales of the servant were related to the Court of Pall Mall, and this gave the idea of sending Lord Charles Stewart, brother to Lord Castlereagh, to Milan. Lord Charles thought it his duty never to make himself known to her Royal Highness, but formed a strict friendship with the Baron d'Ompteda, a chevalier of Hanover, and formerly ambassador from Jerome Napoleon, king of Westphalia, to the court of Vienna. The Baron

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carried about with him in Italy a mortal chagrin from his disgrace: and led on by promises, he degraded himself to the infamous trade of a spy, and set about watching the conduct of the Princess very narrowly. Lord Castlereagh is said to have seconded these plots and cabals, which date from the month of September, 1815. At this time her Royal Highness was ready to set out upon the journey she had undertaken.

Her Royal Highness shuddered when, at her return to Milan, she learned from the police, that she was surrounded by spies in her own house. The Baron d'Ompteda, who was at their head, had, during the absence of the Princess, endeavoured to corrupt some of the people in her service. They, however, all rejected with horror the proposals and promises which he made them, with tenders of money, to engage them in his enterprise, which had for its object to outrage the honour and reputation of the Princess. Not one of the Italians were base and treacherous enough to be seduced by him; Maurice Credé,* a German, alone yielded to the temptation. He undertook to introduce the Baron d'Ompteda into the Princess's apartment by means of false keys, and it was by a very fortunate concurrence of circumstances that the plot was discovered. Her Royal Highness took the precaution of dismissing Credé, under the veil of an amorous intrigue in which he had been detected

* He came to England as a witness against the Queen, but was never called, for obvious reasons.

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with Annette, a German, one of her waiting-women. In hopes of regaining his place, he revealed the whole affair: we shall transcribe here the declaration which he made in writing, and which he sent, in the form of a letter, to the Chevalier Tomasia, to whose good offices he recommended himself, to be re-admitted into the Princess's favour :—

"MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER,

"I address myself to you, Sir, to obtain the greatest of favours, for which I shall be eternally grateful. I was yesterday dismissed from the service of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, for having intrigued with her waiting-woman, Annette. This event, which has thrown me into the utmost consternation, has awakened in my heart a remorse which had agitated me for some time, and which I feel the necessity of imparting to you, in the hope that you may interest yourself for me, and get me to be received again into her Royal Highness's service.

"I must then confess that I merit my disgrace, since I suffered myself to be seduced by a certain Baron, M. d'Ompteda, to betray the best of mistresses, and the most generous of Princesses.

"It is about a year ago, or about a month before the departure of the Princess, that this baron was to take all possible steps, through the intervention of a certain Ambrose Cesati, who came to Como, to discover the place where my mistress slept, and to endeavour to procure false keys of her apartment. I persisted for some time in refusing to have any concern in this plot; but at length the Baron's threats, who told me I was a ruined man if I did not listen to him, together with the money he offered me from time to time, corrupted me, and I was weak enough to accept the commission, although fully persuaded that there was no foundation whatever for the Baron's infamous suspicions.

"I must say, nevertheless, with the utmost sincerity, that the guilt of my conduct went no farther than answering the questions put to me by d'Ompteda in the conferences I had with him, in which he interrogated me closely upon the situation of the different apartments in the place, as well as concerning the persons who were about the Princess.

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"This, Sir, is my confession; in making it my heart is eased of a weight by which it was oppressed. I address myself to a man already estimable for his virtues; and who ought to feel commiseration for human weakness; whom I therefore supplicate to obtain my pardon from the Princess, and not to forsake me at this moment of calamity.

"Have pity, Sir, upon a unfortunate man, who, knowing his fault, seeks to repair it by repentance, hoping thus to be enabled, through your aid, to return to the path of honour. On you, Sir, I place my whole reliance.

"I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

"MAURICE CREDE."

"*Como, November* 3*d.* 1816.

Her Royal Highness judged it proper to inform the governor, Count Sauran, of what had passed, who immediately banished the Baron d'Ompteda from the states of his Majesty the Emperor. The brave English officer, Lieut. Hownam, private secretary to the Princess, shocked at the Baron's baseness, challenged him to a duel; but the latter, by different pretences, and by delays, seemed, like a coward, to laugh at the challenge, fixing, by turns all the four quarters of the world as the place for the rencontre. The history of this transaction is curious, and deserves to be given more in detail. This I cannot do in a better manner than by the insertion of the following letters, which have been published:—

TO M. THE BARON D'OMPTEDA, MILAN.

SIR,

You will probably be surprised at my addressing to you from Milan, and much more so when you hear the purport of my arrival. It will undoubtedly, as it ought, shock you to find that your conduct towards her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales

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has been discovered; and your most infamous and unmanly return for every kindness you have hitherto received from her is about to be published to the world. As an Englishman, and as a grateful friend, at the service of her Royal Highness, I voluntarily step forward to demand satisfaction of you for such villany, and I expect you will meet me to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock at Barlassina, (halfway to Como,) there to answer to this sacred charge against your honour, as a gentleman and a man who has ever received the most marked hospitality at the hands of the Princess, and who has committed the greatest act of hostility against the very first of virtues.

(Signed) JOSEPH ROB. HOWNAM.

Milan, Hotel de Gambaro, Saturday Evening, five o'clock, Nov. 2, 1816.

TO MR. HOWNAM, MILAN.

(Translation.)

SIR,

It was indeed with surprise, as you remark, that I received your letter. Little accustomed to refuse a challenge, pray believe that I readily accept that which you propose to me, although I am too ignorant of the motives, so confidently assigned in your letter, for it, to be able to answer them. The discoveries which you are pleased to mention are utterly unknown to me. With respect to Madame the Princess of Wales, I never gave her cause of offence; hospitality, and the laws, of which you declare yourself the champion, have not been violated by me. If I did not wholly refuse the frequent invitations with which Madame the Princess condescended to honour me, it was rather that I might not appear wanting in the respect due to her rank, and not for the purpose of abusing that condescension in a way that would justify you, Sir, thus to address me. On the contrary, I availed myself of it discreetly, and refused the proffered honour of accompanying her on her tour, in order to avoid every thing which might lead to delicate embarrassments. This indeed would require explanation, but that I am not disposed to give it you, Sir, after the peremptory language in which you have thought fit to address me. If up to the present moment, I ought to consider the virtue and honour of Madame the Princess, to which your letter alludes, as infinitely too far removed from all suspicion to require a combat

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between yourself and me, it is for you, Sir, who say you are her friend, and under obligations to her, to weigh the consequences of so singular a contest. As, however, conformably to the laws of honour, the right to fix the time and place of rendezvous belongs to me, and not to you, I declare, that, with all the eagerness which I feel to give you satisfaction, yet your incongruous proposition of meeting you to-morrow at eight o'clock, on the high road to Como, cannot meet my concurrence; and, as I suppose that you have made your arrangements at your leisure, you will think it natural that I should make mine. I therefore name Switzerland as a convenient place; and upon this subject I will send my second, whom I expect from the country. At the same time I invite you, since you are pleased to make this a national affair, also to bring with you a gentleman of your own country, capable of testifying to whatever may take place between us. The person who will appear on my behalf will call upon you in two days, at the latest, at your residence at the Gambaro, at Milan, or at Como, as may best suit you.

(Signed) The Baron FRANCIS D'OMPTEDA.

Hotel de l'Europe, Milan, Nov. 2, 1816.

TO M. THE BARON D'OMPTEDA, MILAN.

SIR,

I have received your answer to my letter of this evening, and am perfectly obedient to the laws of honour—and since it is not convenient for you to-morrow morning, I shall await at Como the arrival of your friend (at that town), when, if he will write me a note, I will attend to it at any inn he may think proper to name.

(Signed) JOSEPH ROBERT HOWNAM.

Saturday Night, 11 *o'clock,* 2*d Nov.* 1816.

TO M. THE COUNT DE COUTENHOVEN, CHAMBERLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, COMMANDANT OF THE ORDER OF MALTA, MILAN.

(Translation.)

You are right, my dear friend, and I conform to your advice. Fix, therefore, the place of rendezvous, and the regulations on which I insist. After the frivolous provocation of Mr. Hownam, I have most clearly this right, for it is no less false than ridicu-

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lous that he has any right to attack me, unless he proves against me proceedings insulting towards the Princess, or falsehoods respecting her. If the elevated station which she occupies fixes upon her the attention of the public, it is not I who direct opinion; neither am I responsible for the effects of malevolence, nor for all those embarrassments, which never occur but in proportion as they are provoked. And, if I am ready to answer before the tribunal of honour, it will not be because Mr. Hownam alone composes the tribunal. However, I have neither complaints to make against Madame the Princess, nor particular duties to fulfil towards her. What Mr. H. says on this subject is as much misplaced as the spirit of hostility which he imputes to me. I am hostile only in my own defence, and this is the only reason why I have so readily accepted the proposition of Mr. H.; make, therefore, all the necessary arrangements.

(Signed) The Baron F. D'OMPTEDA.

Milan, Nov. 4, 1816.

TO MR. HOWNAM, VILLA D'ESTE.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Your interview with my second not having led to a precise result, I now inform you, that in consequence of official intimations which have reached M. the Governor Count de Saurau, on the 4th of this month, at the Villa d'Este, on the subject of our duel, he has bound me, by my word of honour, not to fight with you either in this country or its neighbourhood, and I must depart from hence. I have too good an opinion of your principles to doubt that you will regret this unheard of indiscretion in an affair of honour, committed during the interval of your provoking me to fight a duel and the arrival of my second to concert measures accordingly.

I shall expect you at Manheim, on the 6th December. I name that place, because it affords the facility of passing, in the space of one hour, into the territories of four different sovereigns. A man of honour will not suffer himself to be waited for there in vain, and woe to him who does not repair thither. You will find me at Manheim, on the 6th December, at the Hotel du Mouton, and I shall also look for you there. To prevent any mistake, you will also find my address at all the gates of the town, as well as a

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direction addressed to you at the post-office, to remain till called for. You will likewise write to me, if necessary.

(Signed) The Baron F. d'OMPTEDA.

Milan, Nov. 6, 1816.

P. S. The Count de Coutenhoven has a copy of this letter to convey to you.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT MUNSTER.

(Translation.)

Manheim, Dec. 8, 1816.

MONSIEUR LE COUNT,

I arrived here, at Manheim, the first of Dec., the place of rendezvous, and have waited, with my second, the arrival of Mr. H——, who has not made his appearance! Deprived of all precise intelligence since my departure from Milan, Count de Coutenhoven has written to me by the Milan post, under date the 21st of November, merely stating that he has received a letter, through M. Caraletti, addressed to me by Mr. H——, and which he has had the extreme thoughtlessness to confide to a traveller to convey to me, without having hitherto informed me of its purport, and only adding—"It appears that courage cools, and that Madame Sforza insists that the explanation between Mr. H—— and myself shall take place, if indeed it take place at all, in London!" Meanwhile the advantage is on my side, and, in case of necessity I shall know how to profit of this circumstance. I have also at command the assistance and testimony of a man sufficiently well known in the world, in the person of the General de Tetterborn, whose devotion to me is invincible, and on whom I know I can depend with confidence. It is by his aid, and without deviating from the principles of the greatest circumspection and discretion, that all possible contingencies have been anticipated, and he has shown infinite zeal and anxiety to be useful to me. Under these circumstances, and not knowing how the affair in question would be viewed by you, I leave your excellency to judge of the pleasure which I experienced on the arrival of Captain B——, and on perusing the contents of his dispatches; and if, hitherto, I have had the happiness not to incur your censure, I beg you to believe I will neglect nothing in my power always to show myself worthy of your approbation.

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Not being able, at present, to enter into particulars, I shall confine myself, Monsieur le Count, to briefly informing you, that it appears to me necessary still to wait some days the arrival of Mr. H.'s letter, if indeed it has not miscarried. I will endeavour, for the moment, to retain Capt. B. also in the neighbourhood. The principles upon which I have agreed with Gen. Tetterborn, and to which we firmly hold, are,—that the affair between Mr. H. and myself is absolutely personal—that, consequently, the interference of any one else, especially of a lady, is inadmissible and ridiculous—and that the right belongs to me to dictate the regulations, and the place of meeting, if I should still consent to concede this honour to a man who has failed in his rendezvous, after having frivolously provoked me. I have also, to justify my continuance in this country, the pretext of my sister being established at Darmstadt. In the mean time I hope that Mr. H——'s letter, and some confidential communications, which I expect from different quarters, will enable me to fix my opinion as to certain points, which will regulate my future conduct. Finding myself once in Germany, it appears that I can scarcely dispense with going as far as Hanover, having, from the first, announced the death of my sister-in-law, at Celle, as one of the motives of my journey to Germany. I do not speak of the desire I have to see my brother, after that afflicting event, and having, besides, to plead the plausible reason of receiving my instructions for the mission which the extreme favour of our illustrious master deigns to assign to me, my too sudden return would not fail to let the public, in some degree, into the secret, and would give rise to innumerable conjectures respecting an affair which, not having been broached here, makes me doubly anxious to prevent publicity as much as possible. I am consequently determined, in virtue of the latitude of the instructions from your Excellency, and except in unforeseen contingencies, to proceed, in about eight days, towards Hanover. I shall inform M. the Minister de Bremer of this in confidence; and I beg your Excellency to address my letters to him, as, whatever may happen, I shall communicate, from time to time, to M. le Baron de B. my proceedings in general, as I hastened to do from the moment of my arrival in Germany.

I renew to your Excellency the expression of my heartfelt gratitude for an interest, of which I have recently received the most

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flattering proofs; and it is with unlimited devotion, and the most respectful attachment, that I shall never cease to be, Monsieur le Comte,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient Servant,

The Baron F. d'OMPTEDA.

P. S. As I cannot hope to realize the wish I have long entertained, to have an interview with your Excellency I shall, at least, have the satisfaction of explaining myself with Monsieur the Minister de Bremer at Hanover (if, indeed, I find him acquainted with the affair) as to the different bearings of this transaction in general, and with my individual position in particular, and which it is absolutely impossible by writing to embrace in all its details. Capt. Backhouse, who is on the point of setting off for Frankfort, begs you will give directions that his letters may be addressed to the care of M. de Stralenheim, of that city.

TO M. THE BARON D'OMPTEDA, HANOVERIAN MINISTER TO THE HOLY SEE AT ROME.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Milan, May* 10, 1817.

It gave me regret to see, by the letter which you did me the honour to address to me, that the obscure characters, by whom Madame the Princess of Wales has the misfortune to be surrounded, carry their audacity so far as to fill the public papers with the grossest falsehoods, and even endeavour to introduce them into the cabinet of his Holiness. Although there can be no doubt that respectable persons regard these vile fabrications with the contempt they deserve, I shall, nevertheless, be always ready to assist, as far as may be requisite, in publicly refuting them. I shall thus endeavour to satisfy not only the sentiments of friendship and esteem with which you have inspired me, but also the respect and consideration which I owe to the sovereign whom you serve.

Accept, Monsieur le Baron, the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be,

Your very humble, and very obedient Servant,

(Signed) SAURAU.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY MONSEIGNEUR THE COUNT MUNSTER, MINISTER OF STATE, AND OF THE CABINET OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY, KING OF HANOVER.

(Translation.)

EXCELLENCY,

It is with the deepest and the most heartfelt grief I announce to your Excellency that the Baron d'Ompteda, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Hanover to the Holy See, departed this life yesterday, after a very short illness. He carries with him the regrets of the Holy Father, mine, and those of the whole capital; for it is difficult to say how much he was esteemed and universally loved for the qualities and amiability which he possessed. He served his Royal Highness the Prince Regent with unerring zeal and fidelity; and your Excellency will have an opportunity of seeing, by the packet which he sealed with his own hands a few moments ere he expired, that he proved it even to the last moments of his existence. It is not necessary for me to enter into further observations on this subject. I consider it as a real misfortune that he was not spared to terminate the affairs of the negociation with which he was charged at Rome. I deplore also his death as that of a friend, for he was personally much attached to me, as I was to him. I must repeat to your Excellency, that his Holiness has felt his loss as much as myself, for he greatly esteemed and loved him. But we must bow to the decrees of Providence. I cannot omit to beg your Excellency to lay my humble respects at the feet of his Royal Highness Monseigneur the Prince Regent; and I further beg your Excellency will permit me to reiterate to you the assurance of the very distinguished consideration with which

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most devoted and obedient Servant,

(Signed) HERCULE, Cardinal Gonsalvi.

Rome, May 17, 1819.

This event justifies but too much the system of circumspection which her Royal Highness thought proper to adopt with respect to the English, the Germans, and others who might be about

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her. Under such circumstances, prudence demanded that she should not allow any English or foreigners, but those who were known to her, access to her house. Was it not, besides, a great indignity that they should seek thus to watch the actions of a Princess, through the base medium of the most infamous spyism? Her conduct, frank and without mystery, was above all reproach; of this those who had the honour of being about her are still the faithful witnesses.

After this fatal affair, her Royal Highness could not but suspect every one who was unknown to her of being a traitor; and her mind, naturally so frank and confiding, must have suffered extremely by such circumspection; she did not, however, deny access to any body, but she would avoid being the object of those scandalous stories, of that calumny, of the spyism, of which she had already been the victim. The events which had taken place gave her reason to apprehend even darker conduct towards her than being surrounded by spies. The eagerness of the Baron d'Ompteda to know the situation of her chamber, and to procure false keys of it, furnished ground for suspicions yet more terrible.

A fact which took place at Genoa bears all the impression of an intent to murder rather than merely to rob. Some individuals, armed, introduced themselves, during the night, into the Princess's house, and even penetrated so far as to her bed-chamber. The noise they made awoke her

servants, amongst whom was the infamous Theodore Majochi, whose history I shall develop in a future page of these Memoirs. The real or pretended thieves made their escape, and it remains still unknown who these people might be, or what might be their intention.

Baron Ompteda died, as we see, in the year 1819. He had a brother, a few years ago, residing in Eaton Street, Pimlico, at the house of a very near relation of the author of these Memoirs; and of this brother's natural disposition, as far, at least, as respect for the female sex is concerned, there was nothing very amiable in his character, nor enviable in his heart; for this man was a complete woman-hater. He had one man servant, and was waited upon, occasionally, by the female servants of the house; but his aversion to the sex generally, was intolerable. He was punctual and honourable in his pecuniary concerns, but of a most strange and mysterious temper and disposition, scarcely ever stirring out of doors before dark, and almost always visited by persons of distinction *incognito*. His name, if I remember right, was Christopher—the notorious Ompteda had not that Christian name, or there are some reasons for supposing him to have been the same person. I am inclined to think, however, that these were two persons, as the man I have just spoken of used to be visited by another, whom he called his brother. But no matter, the name of Ompteda will be synonymous with that of *spy* as long as the history

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of Caroline, Queen of England, shall remain extant; for it is utterly impossible to exculpate that Baron from the guilt of having acted in that degrading capacity over the conduct of her Royal Highness during her residence on the Continent. In the details of the trial, as it has been called, of her Majesty, which will hereafter form a most prominent portion of the present work, I shall have repeated occasions to show the part which Baron Ompteda took in the shameful persecutions that have beset and harassed the life of Queen Caroline.

In connection with this portion of the Queen's Memoirs, we may here mention a fact that made considerable noise at the time it was first made known to the world.

One day, about the latter end of the year 1814, and during the residence of the Princess of Wales at Naples, Count Maceroni, whose name I have already introduced to the reader's notice, was walking along the Strada di Chiaja, in company with the late General Montague Mathew, and an English nobleman; they met a person unknown to the Count, but who, as the General and nobleman informed him, was Mr. Quentin, brother to the colonel of the 10th hussars, and that he held some situation or other in the household of the Prince Regent. On General Mathew's questioning him as to the object of his journey, he answered, with some embarrassment, that he was sent to Naples by his royal master to purchase horses. Every

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person acquainted with Naples well knows that it is the very last place in Europe, except perhaps Venice, to which the Prince, or any one else, would ever dream of sending (and from England too!) to purchase horses! This rencontre instantly excited certain suspicions in the minds of several of the distinguished Englishmen then residing at Naples, which they immediately communicated to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, who, however, treated the matter with perfect disregard. In the meanwhile Count Macerom (whose authority we have no reason to dispute) hastened to acquaint the King of Naples of this new arrival, together with the opinions entertained on the subject. His Majesty immediately commanded the Minister of Police to ascertain whether any horses were bought, or even looked at, by Mr. Quentin; and he moreover commanded the Duke di Rocca-romana, his master of the horse, to send an equerry to Mr. Quentin, who should take him through the royal stables. It resulted from the researches of the police that Mr. Quentin did not purchase, or appear to dream of purchasing, any thing like a horse: and although the equerry, who, the Count believed, was the Cavalier Caraffa, showed him a stud of beautiful horses, which he purposely informed him would be either sold or given to him to facilitate the execution of his commission, he could not be made to give the least sign of a propensity for horse-flesh. The King of Naples then commanded Count Macerom to signify, in his name, to

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the Princess of Wales, that should the presence of Mr. Quentin, or any other supposed agent of her persecutors, occasion to her Royal Highness the least umbrage or displeasure, he would immediately order their being escorted beyond the Neapolitan frontier.

On a subject which entirely referred to her Royal Highness's personal and private feelings, Count Maceroni thought it most proper for him to communicate through the medium of one of her confidential attendants, and accordingly he delivered his message to Dr. Holland, her Royal Highness's physician. It moreover accidentally happened that a similar message from the King had just previously been delivered to her Royal Highness by a British peer, to whom, as well as to Maceroni, she returned for answer, that she felt perfectly indifferent to the proceedings of the persons who, she was well aware, would be employed to scrutinize her conduct, which, open to the observation of all, could never, with impunity, be misrepresented. She added, as was said by a British king, in alluding to the reported presence of the Pretender in London, "When he has looked about him, and satisfied himself, he'll take his departure." This in fact, was the case with Mr. Quentin, for he was seen no more in Naples.

Count Maceroni, as an aide-de-camp to the King of Naples, in the habit of daily approaching his person, and having been frequently honoured with invitations to the Princess of Wales's table

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and evening parties, certainly had a favourable opportunity for observation; and it is asserted by that gentleman that her conduct was most exemplary. "No Princess," says the Count, ever existed who so well combined affability and condescension with the reserve and dignity appertaining to her station."*

Mr. Charles Quentin, the *only* brother of Colonel Quentin *who holds a situation in the royal household*, has, in the public prints, asserted that he never went to Naples as a spy upon the then Princess of Wales, and that he was in England in December, 1815,†. This gentleman, however, has not stated whether *any* brother of his and the Colonel's, *not belonging to the royal household*, was at Naples at the time alluded to.

We have now seen with what determined zeal and malignity this amiable Princess was pursued by her enemies; and, as we pass along in these Memoirs, we shall have still greater reason to exclaim, that never was any individual persecuted with so much rancour, or one who merited it less!

During the residence of her Royal Highness at Naples, she remained for some time at a pleasant house, situated on the Riviera di Chiaja; but afterwards she removed to a mansion more suited to

* See the *Times* journal of July 13th, 1820, from which the above statement is extracted, out of a letter written by F. Maceroni.

† In M. Maceroni's letter there was a misprint in a date: 1815 instead of 1, which occasioned some controversy in the public journals of the day.

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her high rank, at Portici, about three miles from the city. At this place she enjoyed the company of all the Neapolitan noblesse, and was visited by almost every English personage of rank at that time resident in that part of Italy. Her time was occupied partly in entertainments of various kinds with her distinguished visiters, in reading, and in viewing the various works of ancient art, with which that neighbourhood so richly abounds. For this purpose she made frequent visits to the surrounding towns and villages, and was particularly interested in traversing the ruined and sunk street of Pompeii, once a great and rich town, which, after lying eighteen centuries in a deep grave, is again partially enlightened by the rays of the sun, and stands amidst other cities, as much a stranger as any one of its former inhabitants would among his descendants of the present day. This town has not its equal in the whole world. Pompeii is distant from Naples about ten English miles; and in this retreat her Royal Highness would frequently devote whole days examining the remains of art, and in reflections on that awful visitation of Providence which so suddenly laid this fine city in ruins.*

* It may not prove unacceptable to the reader to be furnished with a short account of the city of Pompeii, and the cause of its present ruinous condition. Near the Torre del' Annunziate, to the left, and amid hills planted with vineyards, the town itself, which, throwing off its shroud of ashes, came forth from its grave, breaks forth on the view. The buildings are without roofs, which are supposed to have been destroyed by an enemy in an unguarded state, or torn off by a hurricane. The tracks of the wheels which

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The palace of her Royal Highness at Portici abounds with works of art in rich profusion. The

anciently rolled over the roads are still visible. An elevated path runs by the side of the houses, for foot-passengers; and to enable them in rainy weather to pass more commodiously on the opposite side, large flat stones, three of which take up the width of the road, were laid at a distance from each other. As the carriages, in order to avoid these stones, were obliged to use their intermediate spaces, the tracks of the wheels are there most visible. The whole of the pavement is in good condition: it consists mostly of considerable pieces of lava, which, however, were not cut, as at present, into squares, and may have been, on that account, more durable.

The street generally, but probably erroneously, thought to be the High Street of Pompeii, is rather narrow, and appears to have been inhabited by the common citizens. The houses were small, and were provided with booths, amongst which is one that at present attracts particular attention; it is one in which liquors were sold: the marble table within bears the marks of the cups left by the drinkers. Next to this is a house, the threshold of which is inlaid with a salutation of black stone, as a token of hospitality.

On entering the habitations, the stranger is struck with the strangeness of their construction. The middle forms a square, something like the cross passages of a cloister, often surrounded by pillars. It is cleanly, and paved with party-coloured Mosaic, which has an agreeable effect. In the middle is a cooling well, and on each side a little chamber, about ten or twelve feet square, but lofty, and painted with a fine red or yellow. The floor is of Mosaic, and the door is made, generally, to serve as a window, there being but one apartment, which receives light through a thick blue glass. Many of these rooms have the appearance of having been bed-chambers, from an elevated broad step, on which the beds may have been raised; others are thought to have been dressing-rooms; the decorations and pictures being suitable or appropriate to such a purpose. Little flasks, and boxes of various kinds, have been found in them. The larger of these apartments served for dining-rooms, and in some are to be met suitable accommodations for cold and hot baths. The fire-places, which are very curiously constructed, are still visible.

In some of the best houses, many garlands of flowers, and vine-branches, and many handsome pictures, are still visible on the walls. One of the houses formerly belonged to a statuary, whose work-shop is still full of the vestiges of his art. The instruments discovered in the chamber of another house indicate that its occupier was a surgeon.

A large country house, near the gate, undoubtedly belonged to some wealthy man, and would still invite inhabitants within its

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museum is visited by every traveller of the least taste or curiosity. The best statues, busts, vases,

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walls. It is very extensive, stands against a hill, and has many stories. Its finely decorated rooms are unusually spacious, and it has airy terraces, from which you look down into a pretty garden that has been again planted with flowers. In a finely arched cellar are to be seen a number of large wine vessels leaning against the wall. More than twenty human skeletons of fugitives, who thought to save themselves here under ground, were found in this cellar.

Pliny has given a very lively and interesting account of the calamity which destroyed this venerable city. A darkness, says he, suddenly overspread the country; not like the darkness of a moonlight night, but like the darkness of a closed room, in which the light is on a sudden extinguished. Women screamed, children moaned, men cried. Here children were anxiously calling for their parents; and there parents were seeking their children, or husbands their wives; they recognised each other only by their cries. The former lamented their own fate, and the latter that of those dearest to them. Many wished for death from the fear of dying—many called on the gods for assistance; others despaired of the existence of the gods, and thought this the last eternal night of the world. Actual dangers were magnified by unreal terrors. The earth continued to shake, and men, half distracted, to reel about, exaggerating their own fears and those of others, by terrifying predictions. Such is the frightful picture drawn by Pliny. What must have been the feelings of the Pompeians when the roaring of the mountain and the quaking of the earth awoke them from their sleep? In the street already mentioned, and in the front of the house marked with the friendly salutation on its threshold, seven skeletons were found; the first carried a lamp, and the rest had still between the bones of their fingers something which they wished to save.

Before the large country house was found a man skeleton, still actually standing with a dish in his hand; and as he wore on his finger one of those rings which were allowed to be worn by Roman knights only, he is supposed to have been the master of the house, who had just opened the garden gate, with the intent of flying, when a shower of lava overwhelmed him. Several skeletons were found in the very posture in which they had breathed their last, without having been forced, by the agonies of death, to drop the things they had in their hands. It is from hence inferred that their dissolution was sudden, and that death in a moment converted them into motionless statues.

Several of the public edifices are still standing; as the Temple of Isis, with its Doric pillars and painted walls, its sacred vessels, lamps, and tables. From a little chapel within side a poisonous vapour is said to have formerly arisen, which the heathen priests

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and, in short, whatever was supposed, from its materials or construction, to have a superior value, were packed in fifty-two chests, and conveyed to Palermo, at the time the court sought refuge in that city, on the French penetrating into the Neapolitan territory. What still remains, however, in the museum, has a high intrinsic value; since who can behold, without the strongest emotions of admiration, the relics of the most transitory things, which, for nearly 1800 years, have braved the ravages of time? Here are to be seen bread, corn, dough which was about to be placed in the oven, soap which had been used for washing, figs, and even egg-shells, perfectly white, and in as good a state as if the cook had broken them an hour before. Here a kitchen presents itself provided with every thing requisite: trivets and pots stand on the hearth; stewpans hang on the wall; skimmers and tongs are placed in the corner; and a metal mortar rests on the shaft of a pillar. Weights, hammers, scythes, and other utensils of husbandry, are here blended with helms and arms. Sacrificing bowls and knives; a number of well-shaped glasses; large and small glass bottles; lamps; vases; deco-

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may have used for every species of deception. Here are also the remains of a small Grecian temple, with two theatres, the smaller of which is in an excellent state of preservation.

I have not room for farther particulars; but the curious reader will find his account in perusing the interesting details of this ancient city in the works of travels, both ancient and modern, to this part of the world. That which has excited the interest and curiosity of our beloved Queen cannot fail of being an object of attention to the reader of these Memoirs.

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rations for furniture; a piece of cloth; nets; and even shoe-soles; all sorts of female ornaments,—necklaces, rings, and ear-rings; a wooden chess-board, reduced, indeed, to a cinder—all these things are more or less injured by the fire, but still are distinguishable at first sight.

Every apartment of the museum is laid with the most charming antique floors, which are partly Mosaic, from Pompeii, and partly marble, from Herculaneum. Statues, vases, busts, chandeliers, altars, tables of marble and bronze, are all in as good a state as if they had just come from the hands of the artist. The coins which have been collected are very numerous, and fill several cases. Medallions of marble, containing on each side a bas-relief, are suspended by fine chains from the ceiling of one of the apartments, and are within the reach of the hand, so as to be conveniently turned and examined.

Most of the pictures found at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ, and now deposited in the museum, have been sawed from the walls of the edifices they adorned. These unique relics of ancient art form an extensive gallery of genuine antique pictures, the only one in the world, and may, on that account alone, be considered as an inappreciable treasure. They are placed in a range of apartments on the ground-floor, and are suspended against the walls in plain frames. Their size varies from a foot square to whole-length groupes, nearly as large as life. Besides the injury they

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have sustained by having been exposed to the heat of burning cinders, they have been impaired by the modern varnish, which was intended to protect them: it would, therefore, not be right to subject their colouring to the rigid rules of art; but the grouping of the Minotaur, of the Telephus, of the sitting Orestes, and of the Bacchus and Ariadne, is admirable. In their paintings, as well as in their sculptures, the ancients were influenced by their love of simplicity which distinguishes their works from those of the moderns; and the result is, that in them the chief merits of composition are combined,—unity of subject, and unity of interest. When, again, it is considered, that the paintings collected in the museum at Portici were taken from provincial towns, it must be inferred, that those which were admired in the chief seats of art corresponded in excellence with the Laocoon and the Apollo. Such was the judgment of the ancients themselves, and their taste is not to be disputed.

The museum at Portici exceeds all others in ancient bronze,—a substance which, although dearer, more difficult to be wrought, more inviting to the rude grasp of avarice, and less beautiful than marble, forms the greater proportion of the statues. The larger of them had been originally composed of pieces connected by dove-tail joints; and these promiscuous fragments have been re-compiled into new figures, as in the instance of the single horse made from four, in the centre of the court-yard of the museum. Those fragments which had escaped

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fresh ones rent, inflated, or burned, by the burning lava. In addition to these misfortunes, they have been made up unhappily; for the eye of an artist can sometimes detect two styles of art, evidently different, the large and the meagre, united together in the same statue. The figures most admired are, the drunken Faun; the sleeping Faun; the sitting Mercury; the Amazon adjusting her tunic; and an Augustus and a Claudius, busts of heroic size.

The most remarkable objects in the museum at Portici are the manuscripts found in two chambers of a house at Herculaneum. Although they have been so frequently described, they must be seen to furnish a correct idea of them. Before they are devolved, they resemble sticks of charcoal, or cudgels reduced to the state of a cinder, and partly petrified. They are black and chesnut-brown, and are unfortunately so decayed, that under each of them, as they lie in glass cases, a quantity of dust and detached fragments may be perceived. Their characters are legible in a certain light only, by a gloss and relief which distinguish the ink, or rather black paint, from the tinder. Cut, crushed, crumbled on the edge, and caked by the sap remaining in the leaves of the papyrus, they require in the operator great sagacity to meet the variety of injuries they have received: since, in gluing really the more delicate parts, he might reach the heart of a volume while working at the outside. At first it appeared almost impracticable ever to decipher

syllable of them; but to the industry and talent of man nothing is impossible, and his curiosity impels him to the most ingenious inventions.

During the residence of her Royal Highness at this delightful palace at Portici, she was induced, being influenced by gratitude for the repeated tokens of profound respect and attention paid to her by his Neapolitan Majesty, to give an entertainment to his honour. At this *fête* a trifling incident occurred, which the malice of the Queen's enemies subsequently magnified into a most grievous offence, as if the Princess of Wales had thereby intended an affront to the Court of Great Britain; which Court, however, was at that time in perfect harmony with that of Naples. On Murat's arrival at the *fête*, a transparency was exhibited, with the following inscription: "A JOACHIM LE GRAND." —*To Joachim the Great.* And it is said that her Royal Highness placed on a bust of Murat, which ornamented one of the rooms, a wreath, in token of her regard for that monarch. Many Englishmen attended this *fête*, and some of them were pleased to affect great indignation at this simple act; and the spies that eternally infested her Royal Highness, did not fail to mark this circumstance, and to report it with every possible degree of exaggeration. I have never been the advocate of either Bonaparte or any of his generals; but certainly I ought not to be accused of inconsistency if I remark, that this honour paid to a monarch at that time acknowledged by our own Court, and at

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perfect peace with this country, had nothing in it in the least disrespectful to the crown and dignity of Great Britain. If, subsequently, it became the policy of England to quarrel with Murat, no act of respect shown towards him before any cause of quarrel had taken place ought to be charged on a British subject as a crime. Whether King Joachim really merited the title of *The Great*, or not, is a question of perfect indifference;—all who have been dignified by that appellation have not deserved it; and who will quarrel with any one for now singing

"God save GREAT GEORGE *our* King,"

though the line and the sentiment were originally intended as a compliment to a former monarch of that name?

As to Murat, it is only just to add, that as a soldier, he had repeatedly manifested a greatness of soul, and an energy of spirit, of a most extraordinary nature. By his valour alone he won his way from comparitive poverty to wealth, command grandeur, and finally to a throne. As a monarch he obtained the approbation and love of his subjects, whom he governed with moderation and wisdom; and the recent revolution at Naples appeared, for a time at least, to prove the necessity of recurring again to his maxims of government, and the recall of many of his zealous and able supporters. It was therefore, both ridiculous and malicious to brand the Queen with infamy for what she did on the occasion just alluded to in honour of Murat.

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Another incident which took place at Naples, in which her Royal Highness took a part, was also magnified into a crime, but which, in fact, turned out to be perfectly harmless. The Theatre of San Carlo, in Naples, is the gayest and most splendid place of amusement in that city. Here, on a certain occasion, was held one of those foolish and ridiculous exhibitions so common in this country, called a masquerade, in which the highest ranks of the state frequently take upon themselves the personification of the lowest and the humblest of individuals. Here we find a royal personage transformed into a pauper, a beggar, or a pedlar; a noble and right honourable lord or lady becomes an old clothesman or a milkmaid; and a grave and a venerable judge descends to the humble capacity of a ballad singer. On the occasion alluded to, it was said that her Royal Highness appeared in the character of a Turkish peasant, a Neapolitan peasant, and as the Genius of History. Whether she did in fact sustain all these characters is matter of some doubt, though of no consequence. The crime imputed to her Royal Highness was the alleged indecent dress of the last of these characters; it was however, subsequently, distinctly proved, that so far from that dress having been at all indecent, it was of quite a contrary nature, and consisted merely in putting on a garment of a particular description over all the rest of the wearer's clothes.

I will here just glance at another instance of misrepresentation invented by the wicked emissaries of

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a wicked conspiracy to destroy the character of this excellent lady. Though for the most part living retired, her Royal Highness, during her stay at Naples, sometimes visited the theatres: and on one occasion it was said that her dress was of such an indecent nature as to excite the indignation of the audience, who actually hissed her out of the theatre! The falsehood of this charge is self-evident: at the Neapolitan theatres no such practices as hissing, groaning, &c. are allowed; and if such a circumstance actually took place, it would have been known and remarked in the papers of the day; whereas the evidence of this slander rested solely on the testimony of a discarded chambermaid, who had been dismissed from the service of her Royal Highness for falsehoods which she afterwards confessed to have been such! Yet on evidence such as this was the illustrious subject of these Memoirs condemned and vilified in the most wanton and cruel manner.

It is the duty, however, of the historian to hand down to posterity a faithful narrative of facts, and to exhibit the characters of the persons of whom he treats in their true light. And surely it is a more pleasing task to record the virtues than the foibles of those characters. If her Royal Highness, acting according to the silly fashions and customs of the age, condescended to become a performer at a masquerade, she did no more than others of similar rank had done before her; but who could justly charge her with guilt in those exhibitions?

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And as a counterpoise to these frivolities, we have to record her numerous and her extensive charities —her amiable and obliging nature—her classical and dignified taste, which led her, even in her hours of amusement, to call up those recollections which bespeak a mind infinitely superior to the grovelling souls of her persecutors. In her choice, for instance, of the characters at the masquerade of a peasant and the Genius of History, in the first we have an indication of the simplicity and affability of her heart—in the second a type of the expansive and dignified character of her soul; and had her enemies but contemplated her conduct with impartial eyes, and with honest feelings, they would have extracted from these circumstances sentiments as favourable to the motives and the feelings of her Royal Highness, as their malignity and impunity prompted them to infer deeds and impressions disgraceful and dishonourable to her.

In the mean time the poor and the wretched, both in the city of Naples and in the surrounding villages, had cause to bless her, to whom it was a sufficient recommendation that the object applying for relief was really in want. Her very gaieties were devoted to the amusement and the comfort of those whose fortunes forbad them to enjoy either the one or the other without the aid of her condescending munificence. In bending to those of what are called "low degree," her Majesty acquired a knowledge of human character, and an acquaint-

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ance with human wants and sufferings, to which she would otherwise have remained a total stranger. Hence her generous heart was expanded—her royal mind enlarged, and the best sympathies of her nature called into perpetual action. Would to God such were the conduct and such the feelings of all royal personages! They would not then, as it is evident they now do, consider all mankind born only for their pleasure; nor would they look upon themselves as a distinct race of mortals, raised by the mere circumstances of their birth to honour and dignities—to praises and flatteries—without the exercise of any one of those moral qualities which alone can justly entitle them to the esteem and veneration of their fellow mortals.

The Princess of Wales, when she left Naples, was followed by the respect and good wishes of the most respectable portions of the community, and by the prayers and the benedictions of the poor and the wretched. The nobility of her birth and rank secured for her the profound respect of her equals —the enlarged and liberal character of her mind and taste brought around her men of science and philosophers of every country—whilst the mildness and affability of her language and conduct endeared her to all ranks and conditions. Truly it may be said of her, that when the ear heard her, then it blessed her—when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her; because she delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessings of him that was ready to

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perish came upon her, and she caused the widow's heart to sing for joy—she was eyes to the blind and feet to the lame. One only race of beings were her foes—one class only abhorred her:—the envious and the malicious; amongst whom were to be found the lurking spy, and the hired assassin of reputation. These watched her steps with incessant assiduity—these led her into mazes and temptations, that they might afterwards betray her; yet they were foiled in all their wicked attempts; and never did her Royal Highness give her enemies just cause of reproach. To their prurient imaginations—to the cupidity of their souls, and the native malignity of their hearts, are to be attributed the many slanders—the endless persecutions—and the deep sorrows—which for more than a quarter of a century disturbed the repose of this most excellent and deserving of women, and, to use her own dying phrase, "*at last destroyed*" her.

With the utmost confidence in the truth of what I write, I repeat it, that her Royal Highness quitted Naples followed by the prayers and the good wishes of every one capable of appreciating her real character and the purity and uprightness of her whole conduct. In retaining near her person those on whom she could best rely for security against the midnight attacks of the assassin she did no more than what her duty to herself and the country over which she might one day reign demanded. But I will not here enlarge on the many virtues of her Royal Highness the Princess of

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Wales: in the course of these Memoirs we shall yet have abundant cause to recur to so pleasing a part of our history.

From Naples her Royal Highness proceeded to visit the ancient city of Rome; and here the attention paid to her by his Holiness the Pope soon procured for her the honour of a new calumny:—she was accused of an intention to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. The kindness shown to her by the Pope, and the polite and grateful acknowledgments which she returned to him, together with the wish her Royal Highness expressed of remaining some time in that city, laid a sufficient foundation on which to erect this absurdity, and cause it to pass as truth. It has been remarked, that perhaps the authors of the tale had the intention of preventing her going to Rome, the reason of which it would be difficult to discover. The late Duke of Gloucester, brother to our late venerable monarch, King George III. resided for several years at Rome, and the present duke was born there; the same thing was therefore said of him; and the like has also been said of the present Duke of Sussex, the brother of the King. This logic, however, is only exercised with regard to the royal family; would it not seem, therefore, that the right of residing at Rome was contested in the case of this family alone?

Whilst her Royal Highness resided at the ancient imperial city, she was by no means idle in making observations on whatever was curious or

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interesting in that vast repository of classical antiquities. She was also an occasional visitant at the *conversazioni* of the Roman nobility, where her great travelling, profound judgment, and admirable taste, rendered her at all times a most welcome guest.

It is impossible to trace her Royal Highness through every town and city of the vast extent of country over which she passed. A brief and imperfect sketch is all that can be given; but in that sketch we shall discover intimations of a most ardent and enlightened mind, and a taste for whatever is curious in art, or venerable in antiquity, of a most extraordinary nature. The very selection which her Royal Highness made of the places and countries most worthy of her curiosity and research, bespeaks a mind utterly at variance with a vicious or depraved heart and understanding, and gives the lie to the thousand slanders which envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, have invented and propagated against her. The Douglas conspiracy, in 1806, described this interesting and illustrious lady as naturally ignorant, and unwilling to be instructed; yet we find her exploring the ruins of Herculaneum and of Pompeii—we see her paying a tribute of admiration to the temple of Theseus, at Athens—we follow her to the much cherished, but dilapidated, city of Minerva—she mounted the tribune of Demosthenes and of Eschines—she wandered amongst the broken columns and mouldering walls of Carthage—she examined, with a curious eye, the Temple of the Furies, where died Œdipus,

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the son of Laius and Jocasta, and King of Thebes —the tombs of Bericles, of Thrasibulus, and of Antiope, the Amazon, arrested her attention—Scio, where Homer was once occupied with his school—the last vestiges of ancient Troy—the tower of Hero upon the Hellespont—the temple of Neptune at Corinth; and whatever was curious or interesting in the islands of the Archipelago attracted the attention and exercised the judgment of this illustrious traveller; yet she has been accused of a deficiency of taste, and a low and grovelling soul! But if the slanders of 1806 charged her with ignorance as well as vice, those of late years branded her with new deformities, and held her up as a disgusting example of every species of vice and of impiety; yet she chose as the scenes of her supposed licentiousness the Holy City of Jerusalem, the sacred tomb of her Saviour, and the remains of the Temple of Solomon!—Bethlehem, and the Mount of Olives; the River Jordan and Mount Carmel; Corinth, Ephesus, and Cyprus; Nazareth and Joppa; Rhodes and Syracuse; Athens and Melita; in short, whatever place on the Asiatic continent has been rendered sacred by the pious recollections which it awakens—where the Saviour of the world was born, and where he died—lands which first heard the glad tidings of the Gospel, or witnessed the divine acts of Jesus and his Apostles, were the places fixed upon by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales as the theatre of those debaucheries which have been

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most wickedly, most foully, and most blasphemously, charged upon her; as if from the same fountain could flow sweet water and bitter—as if the same mouth utter blessings and curses; and the rock of Kadish pour out the noxious streams of impurity! A more righteous judgment, however, would dictate, that in selecting men of science, such as Sir William Gell, and Dr. Holland, for the companions of her travels, and in visiting those places most celebrated in the annals of classic history, her Royal Highness discovered a taste and an understanding of the most extraordinary character; whilst in doing homage at the birth-place and the tomb of her Redeemer she displayed a disposition to piety utterly irreconcilable with a love of what is grossly vicious and licentious! It will be mentioned in future history with astonishment and admiration that the wife of our Sovereign, almost unprotected and friendless, became a voluntary wanderer through the inhospitable deserts of Arabia, and amidst the savage natives of the Mohammedan bigots of Algiers and Constantinople, inspired by no other motive but that of the most laudable curiosity, and an insatiable thirst for a knowledge of the world. Her journeys on the Mediterranean were long, and excessively fatiguing; whilst many of those on land were such as would have destroyed the constitution, if not even the life, of almost any other female, accustomed, as she had been, in early life, to the luxuries of a court, and the ease and refinements of an European Princess. During

the space of five or six weeks at one time has this enterprising lady had no resting place, during night or day, but the deck of a miserable Sicilian polacca, exposed to the nightly breezes or the hot and sickening calms of the Mediterranean, except when partially screened from the noxious vapours by the thin and tattered awning of the vessel. At the end of the voyage to which I am alluding, the legs of her Royal Highness were so much swelled, through want of rest, and her regular change of garments, that she could scarcely stand; and often after she had landed, when riding on an ass, as is the custom in those distant regions, she was so overpowered for want of sleep as actually to fall off through mere exhaustion; yet still she persevered, nor attempted to resign any undertaking till she had fully accomplished the object she had in view. Perhaps a similar instance of female courage and resolution the world never witnessed.

By way of recapitulation we may remark, that this exalted—this wonderful woman—this paragon of Princesses—travelled by land more than ten thousand miles—voyaged by sea more than fifteen thousand miles—sailed from and entered nearly a hundred sea-ports—visited more than two hundred renowned cities, and famous places of antiquity—saw a large part of the continent of Europe; part of Africa; and part of Asia—visited the land where the Israelites were in bondage—traversed part of the wilderness that they traversed under the guidance of Moses—went to Jerusalem, and

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visited the tomb of CHRIST—visited every island and every place where the APOSTLES preached—and observed upon the religions, laws, customs, manners, characters, arts, sciences, and natural productions of forty distinct peoples!!!

In this, her search after knowledge, she encountered difficulties, toils, and dangers, such as no human being ever before voluntarily encountered; and in cases of the greatest peril, when even sailors were alarmed, she was never known to discover fear.

She, at the same time, was always gentle, kind, humane, and benevolent to all around, and charitable to every creature that she saw in distress.

This was the way that her Majesty spent her time and money. Was this a life for a *lewd* woman to lead?

Her reception on the part of the Barbary governments every where corresponded with her elevated rank, but she attracted the general homage much more by her personal qualities than the eminence of her station.

With the assistance of several learned antiquarians, she made a collection of precious remains of antiquity, sparing nothing in the pursuit of an object so noble and so useful. But what I am the most anxious to make known, and I mention them with transport, is a serious of acts of generosity, which have left every where the highest idea of her heart and disposition. An Englishman ought not to observe silence upon whatever may enhance

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the glory of his Princess; he ought to raise up and bring forth into day such objects as might be lost in the distance, or might be concealed by modesty.

Her Royal Highness, during the time that she was at Agosta, in Sicily, distributed every day with her own hands, and through the hands of others, sums of money among the poor: at Tunis she obtained the liberty of several slaves, and paid the debts of one of them. She gave to the new academy at Athens 500 of the pieces called colonnates, and she allowed 200 annually to the same academy, paid through the hands of the Banker Scaramanzo, at Constantinople; all those who were in prison for debt at Athens were liberated by her, for which she paid 700 pieces into the hands of the governor; and she gave 200 pieces to a poor and numerous Roman family resident in that city. At Constantinople she gave a poor Frenchman 200 colonnates, and distributed her benefits almost in every corner of that city. To the conventual fathers of Jerusalem she gave 500 pieces, and settled on them 200 annually, to be received from the banker above named. Finally she distributed at Rome 200 pieces to the poor of that city.

"Such benefactions in distant countries could not be given from motives of vanity; they must be the pure effusions of a benevolent heart, which has no other object but to satisfy itself; the persons, the places, the time, remove every suspicion of any different motive in such acts of the most enlightened generosity.

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After her return from the Grecian Isles, or what has been termed "her long voyage," her Royal Highness again took up her residence in Italy, her chief seat being situated on the banks of the beautiful Lake of Como, a few miles from Milan. This house she purchased of General Pino; and it is, I believe, still in her possession. During this period her Royal Highness was visited by many persons of rank and talent in the neighbourhood; and Villa d'Este, the name of her seat, was often the theatre of the most refined and cheering festivities. Upon the whole, however, she lived what might be called a retired life, seeking rather the company, and contributing to the happiness, of those in the humbler walks of life, than in the galeties and frivolities of a princely court. In the mean time it may be remarked, that there was not a charitable institution to which she was not a distinguished and generous benefactress; there was not a cottage within the range of which in which misery and hopelessness "sadly grinned," (for plenty and comfort have not invariably followed the change of government and the decisions of congress,) but that her presence or her bounty bestowed assistance, and revived the hope of better times and brighter prospects.

The chief pleasures of the Princess were sailing on the Lake of Como, the surrounding scenery of which can scarcely be surpassed in any part of the world, and in the northern parts of Europe can, with difficulty be imagined, in riding along the

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beautiful hills that enclose the lake, and in conversing with those persons of talent and genius whom her fellow-feeling and generosity drew around her.

Frequently was her Royal Highness seen sailing in a little boat, with a book in her hand, and a lady by her side; and often was the name of "*La Principessa d' Inghilterra*" (Princess of England) echoed with respect through the surrounding hills and vallies of that romantic and interesting country; whilst in the cottage of the poor that name was ever followed by the aspirations of gratitude and prayers for her happiness and longevity.

We must now hasten to a conclusion of this part of our history. Great, and still more important, events at home remain to be detailed; but, before we conclude the present chapter it will be proper to notice one or two circumstances which materially affected the condition of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales prior to her return from the Continent.

The reader has already been made acquainted with some of the most prominent traits in the life and character of the late amiable Princess Charlotte; but the following letter, written by that excellent Princess to her afflicted and exiled mother but a short time before the accouchement of the writer, breathes so pure a sentiment of affection, and abounds with so many interesting allusions, that I cannot refrain from giving it insertion in this place:—

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My dearest Mother,

A very few days will elapse before I may claim to be addressed by the endearing apellation with which I have commenced this letter; when Providence may develop to me new duties, which may in some measure temper, but can never supersede, those moral and pious obligations which have been heretofore imposed upon me. Were I to disguise my true sentiments, or to affect feelings other than those which occupy my bosom in the prospect of becoming a mother, I should feel myself unworthy of that parental affection which constitutes at least the second bliss of life.

United to a man whose whole attentions are directed to the promotion of my happiness, I cannot but feel a pleasure in the anticipation of that hour of perilous hope which shall enable me to present to him a new tie of connubial love, and to the nation a new and abundant source of future promise and consolation. Political considerations, in this instance, stand in competition with the more near and natural feelings of the heart. While, as a wife, I am alive to all those anxious susceptibilities which accompany my peculiar situation, I am compelled by circumstances to extend my views to contemplations widely different in their kind as in their latitude;—contemplations involving the nearest and most durable interests of a people to whom I owe a debt scarcely to be liquidated,—gratitude for unbounded affection.

To relieve, in some degree, this weight of obligation, and to justify the universal confidence in the strength and consistency of my character, I have determined, should it please Providence to bless me with offspring, so to regulate its early reason, and to direct its infant energies, that the lessons I have received from you, and the wisdom which time and observation have confirmed, may be handed down to my child with a view to the perpetuation of the great principle, that the legitimate end of all governments is the welfare of society, and that political and private virtue is the surest foundation and the best bulwark of a throne.

But, O my mother! when my timid imagination revolves upon the uncertainty which veils futurity,—when I look to the dark possibilities which may put a period to the dreams of hope, even shadows shake my courage, and I feel myself the victim of terrors which reason would almost demonstrate absurd. At such a trying moment, why am I debarred from the consoling voice of

maternal affection? Why is not my mother allowed to pour cheerfulness into the sinking soul of her inexperienced and trembling child? I have no friend, no relation near me, whose advice may guide, or whose admonitions may check my conduct. Surrounded by strangers, with a single exception, my heart feels itself desolate, and should the protection of Heaven for a moment leave me, I should fall. The presence of a mother would naturally impart serenity and resignation to my mind which would smooth the pillow for my dying head, and prevent my distracted soul from erring in the hour of her severest trial.

"Secluded from the giddy world, I have learned to set a true value on that retirement which has taught me a more perfect knowledge, not only of myself, but of the society over which I may one day be called to rule. Folly and pride no longer wear in me the imposing blazonry which they exhibited to my early years of I have read, reflected, and conversed,—and I trust the evidence of a future day will rescue me from the imputation of having read, reflected, and conversed in vain.

"The sufferings of my early years, acute as they were in their operation, have not been unproductive of instruction. Their effect has been to correct that sanguineness of disposition which was too commonly a source of severe disappointment, and which uniformly led me to view things through a prejudiced medium: a sort of premature experience has given me that insight into human life and human character which in ordinary cases and circumstances is the result of the study and observation of years.

"Your virtues, my dearest mother, and your afflictions added strength to the affections which nature had entwined about my heart, and urged me to cling to you, in all changes and under all shades of persecution, with a constancy which those who hated you termed obstinacy, but which those who loved you elevated by the name of honourable perseverance,—I felt that I was but merely acquiescing in the first of my moral duties.

"In proportion, however, as I have loved you, do I now feel the bitterness of your absence. You have no substitute in this heart; there is none to occupy your place to my aching eyes. Even the affectionate attentions of an amiable consort are insufficient to supply the chasm in my bosom, but leave it unsatisfied. I have illustrious relatives it is true, but they offer me no kindness; and if they did, there are certain slumbering recollections

which would awake in my brain and check my ardour to receive them. Phave but one mother, and no variations of place or circumstances can remove her from my sight. Heaven impressed her image on my soul, and time has established it there as its native and legitimate sphere.

"By a refinement of cruelty, indeed, we may be sparated on earth; and I, as well as yourself, may be doomed the victim of an unjust and malignant spirit of persecution; but in a better world our congenial spirits will rush to meet each other, where no envious or hating fiends can intervene, or impede the pleasures which flow from the pure fountain of filial and maternal love.

"Such sentiments as these naturally arise out of the contemplation of my situation at this moment. Should it be the pleasure of Providence that I survive the hour of approaching danger, I may, at some future period, be endued with power to restore you to that situation which you were formed to embellish; but if an adwise decree should summon me from this sphere of anxious apprehension, not for myself, but for my mother, a pang of terror shoots across my wildered brain: even then, however, my last prayer would be to Heaven to gift you with that sublime feeling of pious resignation which would teach you to bow submissive to the chastening stroke of our common Father, and to console your afflicted heart with the anticipation of our re-union in a world where felicity is unimpaired, and to which malice is inadmissible.

"Believe me, my adored mother, I fear less to die than to live. The prospect of protracted existence is so blended with dangers and difficulties, so shadowed with clouds and uncertainties, so replete with anxieties and apprehensions, that I must shrink from the contemplation of it, and fly for refuge even to the probability of my removal from so joyless an inheritance. The page of history has determined that happiness is not in the possession of those who move in the lofty circles to which my birth entitles me to look. I cannot hope for an exception in my favour. All the joys of life are centred in my present retirement, and they are even poor, because you are not a participator in them. But even this unqualified enjoyment of them must be brief; and I must emerge into a situation uncongenial to my soul, and destructive to all my hopes of felicity on earth. What cause then have I to shun that issue which others may behold with horror? What cause have I to covet that existence which others so highly prize? Death would

obliterate an image of delight from my heart, save that which is the portrait of a beloved mother, nature has still left to the hoping, doubting, yet fearing

"CHARLOTTE."

"*Claremont, October* 10, 1817."

It requires no ingenuity to conceive with what feelings this most affecting epistle was read by her Royal Highness; but who can describe the anguish of soul with which she very shortly afterwards received intelligence of the awful fulfilment of the fearful forebodings contained in this letter? The Princess Charlotte died, as has already been stated, on the 6th of November, 1817. This melancholy event, however, was not communicated to the Princess by any official messenger from the British Court! Neither the marriage nor the death of her beloved daughter was so communicated to the anxious and afflicted mother: accident alone first brought her the intelligence, although both the circumstances alluded to so deeply interested her feelings and her relative connection with the Throne! In ordinary cases of family feuds, it frequently happens that the death of a child, or some other near relation, has a tendency to produce reconciliation; but in this instance, the same ominous spirit was still indulged—the same angry feelings kept alive—and, if possible, a more determined system of persecution was pursued against the afflicted mother than before. Whilst all England was in mourning for the daughter of this ill-fated lady, her enemies were actively engaged in one of

the most hateful, extensive, and deep-laid systems of *espionnage* ever invented. A formal Commission, since emphatically denominated "*The Milan Commission*," was sent out from this country, under the direction of a professional gentleman, heretofore of unblemished reputation, if not of profound talents. His name was LEACH, and was no other than the Vice-chancellor of England! This gentleman had, in his immediate service, a barrister of the name of Cooke; and he, again, an attorney of the name of Powell, who had been formerly remarkable for his zeal as a thorough-paced reformer of the New or Westminster School: another of these active agents was a Colonel Brown; and these had several other inferior persons employed as scouts and eavesdroppers, peepers, and pryers of various descriptions. An office, for the reception of intelligence, not of the good, but of the bad qualities of the Princess of Wales, was established in the city of Milan; and a man of the name of Vimacarti, was engaged at a handsome salary, to perform the part of a receiver-general of every filthy story—of every sort of falsehood or detraction that could be procured, for either love or money, from any of the discarded servants, or other worthless characters, who might happen to have had any thing to do in or near the residence, or about the person of her Royal Highness.

As most powerful and efficient auxiliaries in this noble scheme, the Hanoverian ambassador, Baron Ompteda; the Austrian minister, Count Munster;

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and even the Grand Duke of Baden himself most generously enlisted themselves. To these worthies some have added the name of a brother of one of our own King's ministers, the celebrated Lord Castlereagh! A more powerful phalanx was, perhaps, never before erected against the peace and the happiness of any individual; nor one better calculated to effectuate any object they might choose to undertake.

Ever since the year 1806, as I have already very frequently had occasion to remark, rumours of all kinds respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales had been afloat. The ear of her royal husband was eternally pestered with some new accusation—some fresh instance of his wife's infidelities and degrading conduct. Whence those slanders (for slanders they have since been proved to be) first originated, it is impossible accurately to know; but however they originated, it at length became the imperious duty of the then Prince Regent to institute a solemn inquiry into their truth or falsehood. It was for this avowed purpose that the famous Milan commission was first instituted—it was for this end that money was lavishly spent upon informants, agents, and spies, of all sorts and conditions, who could depose any thing *against* her Royal Highness; but I have never been able to learn, though I have made diligent inquiry on the subject, that any reward or encouragement was held out to those who might have any thing to depose *for* her Royal Highness. This, of course,

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was an oversight in the conduct of the Milan Commissioners not anticipated by the insulted and aggrieved husband, who very properly caused inquiries into his wife's conduct to be made. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent would naturally expect that the persons employed for that purpose, would be as anxious and as assiduous in seeking for proofs of his wife's innocence, as of her guilt. Hence it was the opinion of some persons, that the best plan would have been, the moment any one dared to assail the character of her Royal Highness, that such person should have been put upon the proof of his or her assertion, and that the accused herself should have been immediately apprized of the circumstance, and confronted with her accuser. It has been thought that this method might have prevented much mischief—have saved the country a great deal of money, and a great deal more disgrace and pain. It seldom happens that an individual plunges at once into the vortex of vice and immorality; and hence, were those who in the end become extremely vicious, mildly, but seriously, reproved on the discovery of their first offence, the career of folly being arrested before it had grown, by habit, into a confirmed vice, many valuable members would be saved to society, and much serious evil arising from the influence of bad example, be prevented.

The Milan Commissioners, however, did not think proper to adopt this system of prevention, conceiving, I should suppose, that they would best

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consult the wishes of their employers, by looking only at one side of the question; and that the more vice they could discover, the greater merit they would acquire for zeal and diligence in this famous undertaking. And this idea appears also to have operated on the minds of the informers who brought their respective portions of calumny to the Milan Board; for it does not appear that any of the accusers of her Royal Highness ever took upon themselves to give her a friendly admonition that her conduct was not exactly what it ought to be. To use a liliputian expression, no one ever hinted to her, that, "if she did so again, they would tell her husband." From this circumstance it was very naturally concluded, that, in fact, there was nothing in the conduct of her Royal Highness that merited reproof, or called for admonition. On one occasion, it is true, one of her faithful servants, the Hon. Keppel Craven, remembering the terrible stories of 1806, and knowing, by a letter which he had received from England, that spies were about, watching, with an evil intention, every movement of his royal mistress, kindly cautioned her to be on her guard, lest any part of her conduct should be liable to be misrepresented. Her Royal Highness, however, conscious of the rectitude of her principles, and the correctness of her conduct, does not appear to have made any alteration in her behaviour in consequence of this faithful and friendly advice, however grateful she might be to the person who offered it. But not one of the Milan

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Commissioners, nor any one of their numerous agents, appear ever to have thought it needful or proper to act in the same friendly manner as Mr. Craven did. These persons afterwards told the world, that they knew all along that her Royal Highness was leading a most profligate and licentious course of life, yet all they did was to hear and receive (I will not say invent and propagate) stories to her prejudice. With her virtues they had nothing to do. These it required no secret committee—no hired spies—no breaking of locks—no peeping through keyholes—no examining of beds and back-baskets, to discover. They were known and admired by all the world—they were felt by the poor and the helpless; and shone with a lustre that only the more clearly exposed the black and horrid deformities of her enemies.

That her Royal Highness at length became acquainted with the names of some of those persons who had taken upon themselves the honourable occupation of watching her footsteps, is evident from the following extracts of letters written a short time before the death of the late King, and when she had formed the resolution of once more returning to England:—

"During the five years of my long absence from my dear old England, I can assure you it has been the first real happy moment I felt, having received such satisfactory information respecting the feelings of the people of England towards me. It has been the most gratifying communication to my mind, and I trust to Heaven I shall ever continue to deserve their good opinion. My enemies and enemies in England have again held secret inquisition at Milan, through the means of spies, and many old servants, who have been sent from the house for bad conduct.

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have been making all sorts of inquiry into my private conduct. My legal advisers were informed of this in April last, and I should have gone to London at that period, had I not been otherwise advised, it being the wish of my legal advisers that they should first see me in France. I came to Lyons for that purpose, and after waiting anxiously their arrival for some weeks, I found they could not meet me. The air being too cold for my health, I took the resolution of fixing my winter residence at Marseilles, where I have been two months, and expected to see my legal advisers; but I have been again disappointed, and Heaven knows when they will be able to meet me. I have been much alarmed about a rumour relating to our ever-beloved and lamented King's health; if, on the event of anything happening to our revered monarch, I put my only trust in the generosity of the great nation, to protect me from the hands of my enemies, I have great pleasure to inform you, that all my debts in England and Italy have been paid.

"CAROLINE, *Princess of Wales.*"

I should not have taken up my pen so soon to trouble you, if I had not received this morning a letter from Paris, from a particular friend, which communication stated to me, that the English ambassador mentioned the impossibility of his paying me due respect, and assured my friend that the government at Paris, he feared, would make my residence there far from agreeable, and my friend advised me not to visit Paris under such circumstances. I never had any wish to visit that metropolis, but the desire alone of seeing my legal advisers, and that was the sole object of my travelling into France. I am so uncomfortable here, under such a government, that I intend leaving Marseilles on the 20th of this month, and shall return into Italy. In case my presence should be necessary in England, I will come by sea, and not expose myself to the possibility of being badly received by the family of the Bourbons. The present King, when in a distressed situation, was well received by my late father's court at Brunswick Palace, and every comfort was offered to him: but such great personages have the talent to forget where they have received civilities. In a strange country, I think the daughter should at least have been kindly received, without pomp or parade, but in a friendly way; that was all I expected, as I travelled *incognito*.

"CAROLINE, *Princess of Wales.*"

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These letters not only show the knowledge which her Royal Highness had of the hateful proceedings of the Milan Commission gentry; but the extensive effect which the slanders against her had in Paris and elsewhere. But I must pass over many instances of the degrading prejudice which certain courts thought it their duty to entertain against this illustrious personage, to trace the progress of her history till her second arrival in this country.

In the death of Queen Charlotte, her Royal Highness certainly did not lose a friend; but when it pleased the Divine Providence to take to himself her long-afflicted father-in-law, King George III. she was bereaved of a friend indeed; and no sooner did she receive information of this important fact, (which, by the way, it may be observed, was not communicated to her with that regard to decency and to etiquette which ought to have been adopted,) her feelings, though prepared for the event, were most powerfully affected: but the great change which that event caused in her rank and condition, rendered it necessary, had she had no other inducement, immediately to return home; accordingly she began to make preparations for that purpose.

The King's death was announced to her Royal Highness, then elevated to the rank of Queen, by Mr. Sicard, her steward, who had, during five-and-twenty years, been her faithful servant. She was then at Leghorn, from thence she proceeded to Rome, then to Pesaro, and finally to Milan. From this city she dispatched a courier to England, to

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signify her intention of repairing to the French coast, that she might there meet her legal advisers, if possible, on the 1st of May, 1820.* But various circumstances concurred to prevent the immediate accomplishment of this plan.

Before we proceed with this narrative relative to the return of the Queen to England, it will be proper to notice that most impious, insulting, and cruel measure of leaving her name out of the liturgy of the church of England. Much as I may venerate many of the forms of our ecclesiastical establishment, all my former writings are standing proofs that I cannot be justly accused of bigotry in favour of any human establishment whatever, whether in or out of the church of England. I must confess, I cannot attach much importance to these matters, only so far as they connect themselves with some great and leading object of importance to the state—some vital question of political interest. The worldly spirit, which, as mere matter of etiquette, inserts or omits a name in the forms, the bare forms, of a liturgy, however excellent in itself, appears to my mind so completely at variance with that religion which requires truth in the inward parts," which "searcheth the heart and tryeth the reins," that I cannot contemplate any thing connected therewith in any other light

* This day and year will ever stand conspicuous in the annals of our country, as that on which those wretched political maniacs and traitors, Thistlewood, Tidd, Brunt, Ings, and Davidson, suffered the fearful and terrific sentence of the law for high treason, at the Old Bailey, London.

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than as I would every thing else connected with the laws and constitution of my country. But when I reflect on the horrid impiety of endeavouring to inlist the Majesty of Heaven in a party squabble between a man and his wife, or even between two erring and fallible political parties, my heart recoils at the idea, and I fancy I hear the reproving voice demanding of the arrogant mortal who has thus wantonly sported with the Divine Omnipotence—inquiring, "Who hath required this thing at your hands?"

And, again, who can feel otherwise than indignant at the paltry motive which dictated the omission of her Majesty's name in the prayers of the church? Whether considered in a religious or a worldly sense, the act was wicked and unjust. In the first of these views it was arrogant and impious in the extreme—in the second it was unmanly, cruel, and pitiful. Whoever he was that suggested such a thought was neither a good Christian nor an honest man. But it was a part, and only a part, of that system of persecution which pursued this admirable woman from the first year of her connection with this country to the last moment of her existence; betraying a disposition in the perpetrators of the crime, to pursue the object of their malice beyond even the confines of the grave: for can it be supposed, that those who refused to the Queen-Consort the real or imaginary benefit of their prayers, would not also wish that she should be eternally deprived of those blessings at the

Throne of Heaven which, we are assured, always attend the "effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man?" In our supplications at the footstool of the Almighty, our petitions are never properly bounded by wishes for those blessings which relate to this life only. No: they are, or ought to be,

"Fixed and centred in the Supreme Being;
To pant and long for immortality."

Whoever, therefore, prays to God for another's welfare, always seeks rather his eternal than his earthly good; and, whoever declares that such an one ought not to be, and shall not be prayed for, by that prohibition implies a wish for his enemy's eternal condemnation! But, happily, the beneficent Creator of the universe "sees not as man seeth;" and looks with pity on the narrow and selfish views of sinful mortals.

Be all this as it may, by this single act, the hierarchy of this country sunk in the estimation of every reflecting and religious mind; and the deed will be recorded, by future historians, as a demonstration of the awful fact, that the bishops and clergy of the English church, in the year 1820, did not themselves regard their church services in any other light than as engines of political speculation, and as the means of acquiring the favour and good-will of their earthly sovereign. It will, when these things are no longer regarded as sacred institutions, but as merely "parts and parcels" of the ancient laws of England, be read as a matter of historic curiosity, that whilst 18,000 clergymen—many of them men of profound learning, and of exemplary

moral character, could, every Sabbath day, have the boldness to proclaim to the Almighty Judge of all, that King George IV. was "*most gracious and religious*," his wife, against whom not a single crime had been proved, was thought unworthy to be held up in their devotion, either for her present or her future happiness!— that, at the moment, the one was prostrating herself at the tomb of Jesus in the Holy Land, the other was quietly enjoying the luxuries and the pleasures of a gay and a costly court. These are truly awful and serious considerations. May the Almighty God pardon and forgive us for these things; for, regarded as national acts, they are fearfully ominous, and, sooner or later, our country will be heavily visited for them, unless we repent.

Whilst the Queen remained simply the Princess of Wales, she was subject to few indignities at the continental courts; but no sooner did she become Queen of England, and it was known that the new King's ministers had refused to acknowledge her Majesty's rank and title, by the omission of her name in the liturgy, than, at Rome, her guard of honour was withdrawn, and the Pope and his cardinals offered her almost every species of indignity. Her Majesty solemnly remonstrated against this treatment. The following is a copy of the letter, from the secretary of state's office in Rome, to the Queen's chamberlain. It is dated February the 24th, 1820:—

"The cardinal secretary of state received yesterday evening the request, to cause a guard to be placed at the door of the mon-

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sional palace, and likewise has made known to him, that a categorical answer was expected upon this subject. The observations which the above said cardinal made yesterday morning, verbally, when you, by orders you had received, called at his apartments, not having permitted him to answer directly to the royal personage who did him the honour to write to him, is under the necessity of requesting you to lay before the same the following :—

" His Holiness's government cannot grant the guard to my lady the Countess Oldi.* No guard is given to private persons, and when even royal princes travel *incognito* under a private name, they do not receive this distinction. There is actually at Rome no instance of this. The papal government did not fail in paying this honour to the Princess of Wales during her stay in this capital on a former occasion. The royal person, however, who has now come to Rome, is not announced as the Princess of Wales, but as the Queen of England, and for this the guard is requested. But as no communication has been made to his Holiness's government by the government of his Majesty the King of England and Hanover, upon the change that has taken place, nor upon the rank of the said royal person, the papal government does not know that the Queen of England is in Rome, and in consequence cannot grant a guard to the same. Whenever the government of his Holiness may receive from that of his Majesty the King of England and Hanover the usual notification upon the change that has taken place with the royal person in question, he will consider it an imperious duty to pay to the Queen of England all the honours due unto her.

(Signed) " C. CARDINAL GONSALVI."

On this subject Mr. Brougham said in the House of Commons—Baron Reding was now the Hanoverian minister at Rome, and his conduct towards her Majesty was also worthy of remark. " The moment it was notified by the bishops to the chief of the consistory at Rome that her Majesty's name

* The travelling title assumed by the Queen.

was not inserted in the liturgy, the body guard which had previously been allowed to her was immediately withdrawn: but that was not all—the heads of the government affected not to know her—they pretended that she came concealed as the Countess of Oldi, as she had before done; and because she was not acknowledged by this government, because slight and disrespect were offered to her by the ministers of her own country, they thought they would be justified in doing the same. But Baron Reding, the Hanoverian minister, went a great deal farther. He would not call her by the title of "Queen;" he would not call her by the title of "Princess of Wales;" but he sometimes called her "Caroline of Brunswick," in so many words, without the epithet of "Princess," which she certainly was entitled to before her marriage; and at other times he called her by a different name—a name which had been never heard elsewhere,—"Caroline of England,"—a designation that had never at any period of her life belonged to her. This he mentioned to show how far insolence and absurdity might be carried. Every Englishman who entered his Excellency's society must have heard him talk in this manner of the consort of his own Sovereign, who, he was persuaded, had too much the feelings of a gentleman, of a prince, and of a man of honour, to allow any individual to insinuate himself into his favour by treating her female rudely and disrespectfully.

The following

The following is a faithful detail of the events attending her Majesty's proceedings after she had made every necessary preparation for her return to this country. The facts are chiefly selected from the most respectable journals of the time, and were communicated to the public in various letters, and other official communications to different persons interested in the Queen's affairs in London.

About the middle of April, 1820, her Majesty sent off the necessary dispatches, appointing Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman her attorney and solicitor-general. Accordingly they afterwards took their seats before the bench, habited in their silk gowns, and were recognised in due form by the court in their new professional honours.

On the night of May 16, the Chevalier C. Vassali arrived in England from her Majesty, bringing letters dated Geneva, the 12th. These mentioned that her Majesty remained in the fullest determination to proceed to England through France, but that she did not intend to visit Paris on her way. Her Majesty had been confined five days with violent rheumatism, and was also detained, after passing Mount Cenis, with a violent cold and sprains, and two days in repairing her carriage. The chevalier, who was only four days on his journey, left England on the 18th, expecting to rejoin his royal mistress either at Geneva or nearer, on her route to England.

The following letter was received from an English gentleman at Geneva:—

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"The Queen arrived here on Tuesday last, coming by Mount Cenis to Chambery, and thence by Aix and Rumilly to this place. Her Majesty is lodged at the hotel l'Ecu de Geneve, where she intends to remain till the return of a courier sent to Mr. Brougham on her arrival here.

"Her Majesty is leading a most retired and regular life; she rises early, and is in bed generally before eleven; her dinner hour is at two; after which she takes an airing on the lake, and returns at five to tea.

"On Friday, as the Queen entered her carriage to take her accustomed ride, she was informed of the death of the Duchess of York: it so affected her that she was obliged to return to her chamber in evident distress.

"From the authorities of the king of Sardinia her Majesty received the greatest attention. Though she expressed a desire to keep the strictest *incognito*, they insisted upon providing her Majesty with an escort of carabiniers throughout the Sardinian dominions.

"The Queen has dismissed her Italian court, and, with the exception of her maids and footmen, has merely with her M. de Bergami, her chamberlain, an equerry, and her private secretary, who is an English gentleman. Mr. William Austin, whom her Majesty took under her protection while a child, is now a very fine young man, and accompanies her Majesty to England, where she intends to place him at college.

"A great deal of jealousy has been excited in Italy, and stories have found their way to England relative to the exaltation of M. de Bergami by her Majesty, from the situation of courier to chamberlain—from apparently nothing, to that of a baron, covered with orders. But it is said that these decorations were gained by him in the French army, in the campaign of Russia, and elsewhere; and, besides the high recommendation the Queen received with him, she says, that she found his family was of respectability, and she has lost no occasion to reward him for his

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[1] This was a false rumour, originating from the then severe indisposition of her Royal Highness. Since that time, however, her Royal Highness has retired to the dark and silent chamber of the grave.

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years of trial service. He leaves her Majesty next week, to join his sister at Bologna.

"On receipt of dispatches from England, the Queen will set out immediately for Ostend, taking the route by Lausanne to Carlsruhe, and so on to Bruxelles."

Another correspondent at Geneva states:—

"Some of us Englishmen felt it our duty to pay our respects to the royal exile, and sent an humble request that we might be allowed that honour. Her Majesty was at first so much indisposed as to be incapable of seeing us, but we were ultimately favoured with an audience. Her Majesty received us with great condescension and affability, and made particular inquiries as to when we had heard from England, of which she expressed herself a devoted admirer. She spoke with a sort of enthusiasm of the people and the country, and said that her heart yearned with affection towards the one and the other. She said she never should forget the kind, and liberal, and enthusiastic sentiments of respect which had been paid to her while resident in London—at a period when all hope, save that founded upon the consciousness of her own innocence, had fled: a young gentleman, a son of Mr. Alderman Wood, was present; he had before spent some hours with her Majesty; and in alluding to the honourable exertions of his father in favour of an almost friendless woman, she seemed affected even to tears. Her country—for she said she had none other but England, now that the grave had swallowed her father, her mother, and her brother—was the unceasing topic of her allusions; and she seemed to look with confidence to a triumphant return to what she emphatically called 'the bosom of her people.'

"Her person, since she left England in 1814, seems to be a good deal changed. She is not so fair as she then was, nor is she so stout—there is an air of melancholy languor about her manners, which renders her very interesting. It is thought she will remain here for some time. She lives almost entirely secluded."

After a most fatiguing journey through part of Italy and France, on the 1st of June 1802, her Majesty arrived at St. Omer's. This was about five o'clock in the morning. She stopped at Degasher's Hotel. Every good room in the hotel,

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however, happened to be occupied; but her Majesty would not permit Madame Degasher to disturb the possessors, and she and the ladies of her suite were actually obliged to sleep in the garret! The commandant of the town sent to offer a guard of honour, which her Majesty declined.

The following intelligence was sent off express from Calais, dated St. Omer's, Thursday night, June 1.

Her Majesty the Queen of England arrived here this morning at half-past five o'clock. A courier reached l'Hotel de l'Ancienne Poste at half-past one (in the night), announcing her Majesty's near approach. He said her Majesty might be expected immediately; but owing to the difficulty of procuring horses, her Majesty's progress was retarded in such a manner as to detain her till the hour just mentioned.

A courier was dispatched by her Majesty from Dijon, and shortly arrived at Calais, whence he embarked for Dover. He was charged with a letter to Mr. Brougham, in which her Majesty informed that gentleman that it was her intention to be at St. Omer's on Wednesday, and requested his presence at that place to confer upon the step which she was about to take in immediately proceeding to England. At the time of the departure of this courier her Majesty had not been joined by Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, although she had received letters from them announcing their intention to meet her on the road.

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After the departure of the courier, her Majesty again continued her journey to Mantua, which she reached on Saturday morning at seven o'clock. Here her Majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner was agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, who, by keeping the route pointed out by Count Vaquli, were thus enabled to fall in with her Majesty without difficulty. They had missed the courier on the road, who, it was supposed, must have taken another direction. Her Majesty received the worthy alderman and Lady Anne Hamilton with great condescension and kindness, and expressed much pleasure at receiving such an accession to her suite. At six o'clock the same evening, they all pursued their course to Villeneave, which they reached the next day. Hereupon consultation with Mr. Alderman Wood, her Majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England, there to assert her rights as Queen, and openly to meet the accusations of her secret enemies. She seemed to be perfectly acquainted with many of the stories which had been circulated to her prejudice. She treated them with contempt, and said she would fearlessly throw herself upon the justice and candour of her people. Indeed, she added, that she would long since have been in England, had not her advisers recommended delay to her, until his Majesty's government should afford her the means of going thither in a manner becoming her illustrious rank. Her Majesty

having now resolved no longer to delay her intentions, immediately sat down and wrote three letters, one to the Right Hon. Lord Liverpool, another to the Right Hon. Lord Melville, and a third to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. The first of these important documents, I understand, was a dignified demand that a palace should be forthwith prepared for her reception, as she intended proceeding to London without delay. The second to Lord Melville, as first lord of the admiralty, was a desire that a royal yacht should be sent on Friday to Calais, to receive her on board; and a third, to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, was a recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

These letters her Majesty instantly sent off by a courier, but this messenger, on the previous Thursday night, on his coming to Calais, erroneously stated that he had left her Majesty at Valenciennes. This man gained Dover on Wednesday morning, and delivered his dispatches the same night in London. His orders were to return with as little delay as possible to her Majesty, and to join her at St. Omer's.

Her Majesty remained at Villeneuve that night, and the next morning pursued her route to Mons; from thence, avoiding Paris, she went directly on to Abbeville. She reached Abbeville on Wednesday morning, and threw herself on a bed to gain a little repose.

During her Majesty's retirement, several Ma-

dish families, resident at Abbeville, requested to be permitted to pay her these personal respects. They were, however, informed of the fatigues which her Majesty had undergone, and of her inability to receive the kindnesses which were intended.

At four o'clock a courier was sent off to St. Omer's, with instructions to have beds prepared for her Majesty and her suite; and at six her Majesty recommenced her wearisome journey. As she was about to quit the inn, the English inhabitants already alluded to were in attendance, and as she passed through the hall of the inn, they bowed most respectfully. Her Majesty was much affected by this testimony of their affection, and uttering a few words of thanks, and gracefully returning the salute, she hurried into her Carriage.

The cavalcade now commenced the last and most difficult stage of their route. From Abbeville to St. Omer's, they were scarcely able to obtain a single change of horses, and those that were procured were brought from the fields, and ridden by the ploughmen. In one instance, where the cortège had called at the post-house, and announced the approach of her Majesty, the post-master, who had but three horses in his stable, was so alarmed, that he ran off and concealed himself, and was not to be found when his services were required. It was to these delays that the late arrival of her Majesty was attributable.

M. Degouhen and his wife (an English woman),

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the keeper of the hotel, who had made every arrangement for the accommodation of their royal guest, had almost come to the conclusion that she had stopped at some other house on the road, when the well-known cracking of the postillions' whips, as they drove down the street, gave notice of the approach of some of the party.

In a few seconds afterwards, Mr. Alderman Wood, who, with the Count Vassali, had come forward in order to see that every thing was in readiness, entered the inn-yard, and ordered fires and refreshments. The worthy alderman appeared to be a good deal fatigued, but still showed a praiseworthy activity in securing the comfort of his royal mistress.

An English gentleman, (Mr. Moulden,) who, with his family, were on their way to Paris, now rose from his bed, and tendered the use of his rooms, which were in a retired part of the building, for the use of her Majesty; but this was not necessary. He also expressed a hope that he might be allowed to pay his personal respects to her Majesty in the course of the day. After a short interval, the renewed cracking of whips called all who were in attendance to the gate, where her Majesty and suite were seen advancing: and here a serious accident had nearly occurred, in consequence of the want of experience in the drivers. In descending the hill, one of the leaders of her Majesty's carriage fell, and in a few seconds there was reason to apprehend that the carriage would have been overturned.

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The prompt assistance of the persons present, however, prevented this misfortune, and her Majesty was driven safely to the inn.

A carpet was spread on the steps, and she immediately alighted; and leaning on the arms of Alderman Wood and Count Vassali, entered the house. She appeared to be somewhat exhausted, from the fatigue she had undergone; but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits. She ascended to her chamber, accompanied by Lady Hamilton and some of her female attendants, of whom there were three French women, and one Piedmontese.

Her Majesty was dressed in a rich twilled sarsnet pelisse, of a puce colour, lined with ermine, and wore on her head a white willow hat, similar in shape to the then fashionable Leghorn hats. Notwithstanding the unfavourable effects which must have accrued from the journey which she had just accomplished, she looked extremely interesting. It was not a little singular that the bedchamber into which her Majesty was first shown was that in which the late Duke of Kent, when coming with the Duchess of Kent to England, had slept. Her Majesty, preferring a room where she could have her female attendants close to her (her uniform habit), chose a room of a less magnificent description in an upper part of the house. It may now be interesting to the reader to state the persons who composed her Majesty's suite. There were five carriages in all. The first was that in

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which Alderman Wood and Count Vassali arrived. It was a sort of calash, drawn by three horses. The second was an English post chariot, yellow body, with "C. P. W." and the royal arms in the pannels, drawn by four horses. In this were her Majesty, Lady Anne Hamilton, and a fine little female child, about three years old, whom her Majesty, in conformity with her benevolent practices on former occasions, had adopted. Then came a large English travelling carriage, similar in colour and the pannels emblazoned in the same way with the chariot. In this were her Majesty's three female domestics. There were two other calashes, in which were Mr. Austin, the young man adopted by her Majesty at Blackheath, whose name has been so repeatedly mentioned, Mr. Wood, junior, and several male branches of her Majesty's household; among these, I believe, we may include the Count Bergami, her Majesty's chamberlain, respecting whom there had been such repeated speculations. This gentleman had engaged her Majesty's confidence, in consequence of the fidelity with which he had attended to her pecuniary concerns. It was at first not certain whether he would accompany her Majesty to England; but he afterwards left her, and returned to Italy. He was a tall, robust, military looking man, of a middle age, and was respectfully attentive to her Majesty's person; his manners were those of a man who had moved in the highest circles.

After her Majesty had partaken of some refresh-

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ments, she retired to bed; and when the dispatch left St. Omer's, she was anxiously expecting the return of her couriers. One of these persons was to bring her Majesty some articles of dress from London.

Her Majesty then expressed a full determination to proceed to Dover by a common packet-boat, if the yacht which she had demanded was not sent; and if a royal palace was refused, she had had an offer of the beautiful house of Mr. Angerstein, on Blackheath, but which she did not accept. She evinced a strong desire to be in England.

Soon after her Majesty had reached the Hotel de l'Ancienne Poste, the captain of the guard on duty at the gates of St. Omer's arrived at the inn, and expressed an intention of granting to her Majesty a guard of honour, to be placed at the entrance of the hotel, as long as she should remain in the town.

The offer being communicated to her Majesty, she said, that however flattered she might be by the attention of the officer in question, yet she felt herself bound to decline the intended distinction. In her progress through France, she had been treated with studied neglect; and she knew too well what was due to the high rank which she held, to accept from an isolated town that which had been withheld from her elsewhere, and which she could not but consider as an offence, not towards herself personally, but towards that nation of which she was the Queen.

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The officer left the hotel, apparently mortified; but whether his offer proceeded from the suggestions of his own gallantry, or from orders which he had received from his superiors, it was not possible to ascertain.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Brougham and the courier with answers from Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville, her Majesty, without delay, advanced to Calais; and from thence embarked, once more, to visit the shores of "Old England."

On Thursday her Majesty was so much fatigued that she was unable to quit her bed-chamber to attend the dinner party, but she soon recovered her health and spirits.

The courier who carried the letter from her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, arrived on Wednesday night. Mr. Brougham stated that he would leave London on Thursday morning.

Her Majesty expressed most fervently her desire to reach England. She always appeared cheerful, except when speaking of the Princess Charlotte, to whose memory her heart was fondly attached.

Her Majesty made constant inquiries after every person with whom she was acquainted in England, and seemed fully sensible of the attentions which many of the English families she met with felt it their duty to pay to her.

Among her Majesty's domestics was a cook, who prepared every thing for her table.

Several naval and military officers, who formerly

sident there, quitted the town, in order to avoid paying their respects to her Majesty.

Alderman Wood remained with her to accompany her Majesty to England. He was in excellent health, and had repeated interviews with her Majesty.

The following was sent off express to London:—

"*Calais, Friday night.*—The courier sent by her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, who passed through this town on Monday evening, returned last night, and immediately proceeded with dispatches to her Majesty at St. Omer's.

"A telegraphic announciation has been made to the military authorities here, intimating that no official attention is to be paid to her Majesty the Queen of England; and, as if influenced by the notification, the commandant, following the example of the mayor, whose conduct was noticed in a former letter, sent for an English gentleman known to possess a considerable acquaintance with his fellow-countrymen, to whom he stated, that if any public demonstration of respect were offered to her Majesty, in the slightest degree calculated to produce confusion in the town, he should be under the necessity of interfering to prevent it, by measures extending to imprisonment. This threat, we apprehend, could only arise from an apprehension that it was intended to take her Majesty's horses from the carrige, and draw her into the town; but it has received a more extensive construction, and has produced much indignation among the family of

John Bull, who cannot stomach such outrages upon the honest effusions of their hearts.

"The commandant says, that her Majesty is travelling as the Countess of Oldi, and that in that character he will visit her himself. This is not the case. All her Majesty's couriers have their passports drawn up as messengers from *La Reine d'Angleterre*, and her Majesty has invariably adopted that style and title herself. There is no pretence, therefore, for withholding from her the respect due to her rank.

"The messenger who took the letters to Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville, has not as yet come back.

"Her Majesty is still at St. Omer's, but is expected to come forward to this town without delay. The consul is still with us. The mails have been detained here since Tuesday; this goes by express.

"*Calais, Saturday morning.*—The courier sent by her Majesty to Lords Liverpool and Melville returned here by the Lord Sidmouth packet yesterday evening. He brought a box, containing a dress for her Majesty, together with despatches. In a few minutes after the arrival of the Lord Sidmouth, the Prince Leopold packet reached the quay, with Mr. Brougham, her Majesty's attorney-general, and Mr. Sicard, her Majesty's steward, on board. Lord Hutchinson was also on board the Prince Leopold, but she was especially [illegible] by Mr. Brougham. The quay was crowded to [illegible]

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the learned counsel disembark. He proceeded to the Bourbon Hotel, and shortly afterwards, in company with Mr. Sicard, set off to St. Omer's.

"The Countess of Byland has also reached this port, and is gone to join the Queen at St. Omer's."

"*Calais, Sunday afternoon.*—No intelligence has yet been received in this town as to the intended movements of her Majesty. The result of her Majesty's conference with Mr. Brougham will, no doubt, soon be known; whether it will be in conformity with her Majesty's previous resolution, seems still to be a matter of speculation.

"The Prince Leopold packet, by which Mr. Brougham came from Dover, and which is the largest in the service, still remains in the harbour, and rumours are afloat, that it is destined to bear her Majesty to England.

"Orders have been issued by the commandant, that, in the event of her Majesty's arrival at Calais, no additional flags shall be hoisted by the vessels in the harbour.

"Additional guards have been mounted at the Basville-gate, in the event of any jocund disposition being evinced by the English inhabitants on the approach of her Majesty.

"The British consul went on board the Prince Leopold when Mr. Brougham arrived; but little passed between them.

"Letters were received at the post-office here yesterday, which were sent on by a courier to St. Omer's."

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"Lord Hutchinson, and another gentleman, reported to be a relative of Mr. Brougham's, went in the same carriage with Mr. Brougham to St. Omer's."

Calais, twelve o'clock, Sunday night.—Mr. Brougham and his brother, together with Lord Hutchinson, did not reach St. Omer's till Saturday evening. They were most graciously received by her Majesty. The latter announced that he had a proposition to submit to her Majesty from the King. Her Majesty declared, that it was her intention to abstain from taking into consideration any proposal, or giving any answer, till she arrived in England. She said she was ready to set out for the British shores immediately, having already obtained passports for her Italian suite to return to Italy.

"Matters rested in this state till the ensuing day, and preparations were made for her Majesty's departure to Calais, in order to embark on board a packet, no yacht having been sent in compliance with her demand.

"On the preceding Saturday Lord Hutchinson made the following scandalous proposal to the Queen:—

"That her Majesty should renounce all right, title, and claim, to the name, dignity, and honours of Queen of England, and should from henceforth be styled and considered simply as Princess of the line of Brunswick:

"That her Majesty should agree never to put her foot in England, or in any part of the British dominions: that, should she comply with these conditions, an income of 50,000*l.* a-year should be settled upon her, which she might enjoy without molestation:

should the refusing criminal proceedings would be instituted against her afresh, and the severest penalties might be expected."

To this very singular proposition her Majesty returned the following dignified answer:—

"Never," exclaimed her Majesty, and in a tone expressive of her highest indignation, "I command you, speak of money to me, when my *honour* is in question. I can endure the loss of *father, mother, brother, daughter*, and all my nearest and dearest relatives, with a becoming resignation to the will of our Divine Parent; but I will not suffer a single reflection directed against my honour to pass unpunished, be the slanderer ever so exalted. Tell those who sent you on this treasonable embassy, that I scorn their bribe, and defy their motives. Not conscious of error, I shall immediately return to England, and voluntarily throw myself on the protection of my generous and beloved subjects. I will deserve their affections, that I may be certain of possessing them; but I shall never yield, nor even listen, to any proposal that has a *tendency to compromise my honour*. Take this answer to your employers, and quit my presence immediately.

"She then hastily quitted the room, and in a short time afterwards set off for Calais, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and other individuals. She did not reach Calais till half-past ten o'clock, and immediately drove to the pier, where she embarked on board the Prince Leopold packet, together with her suite. Her carriages were embarked on board the Lady Jane. They were both to sail in the morning at half-past six. She contemplated sleeping at Canterbury on Monday night, and being in London on Tuesday at four o'clock.

"Lord Liverpool not having answered her Majesty's letter with respect to the preparation of a palace, her Majesty will, for the present, take up

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her residence in the house of Alderman Wood, in South Audley Street, whose family will immediately quit the house for her Majesty's accommodation. Her Majesty's Italian Chamberlains have quitted her service.

"Her Majesty left the Messrs. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson behind her, at St. Omer's. Her departure was as sudden as her indignation was great. She sent on a courier to Calais to secure the Prince Leopold packet for her use. On her Majesty's sudden appearance at Calais, the greatest ferment prevailed. She was immediately recognised, from the colour of her liveries, and the number of her carriages (five). She was followed to the quay by a considerable crowd, and was loudly cheered. The tide was out, but she fearlessly descended into the packet by a ladder of many steps. Refreshments were brought to her from Dessin's hotel. She was greatly agitated and appeared to be highly indignant at what passed at St. Omer's.

"The general of the garrison came on board and paid his respects to her Majesty; she received him graciously.

"Alderman Wood, who had felt it his duty to offer his house for her Majesty's reception, sent off a special messenger to Mrs. Wood, requesting her to make the necessary preparations.

"The British consul also sent off a messenger to London, stating the occurrences which had taken place.

"The Leopard, on her Majesty coming on board, hoisted the royal standard. Her Majesty sailed yesterday morning at half past six. In the town of Dover there was the greatest confusion: every one seemed to anticipate with delight the moment of her Majesty's arrival, and all appeared desirous of giving her a most enthusiastic welcome. The same feeling pervaded all the towns in the way to London, through which expresses, and post carriages and four, were passing with rapidity the whole of the day.

"This feeling of affection is but reciprocal, for her Majesty on all occasions speaks of the people of this country with a sort of veneration. She frequently says she comes to demand justice, and will no longer submit to the foul calumnies by which she has been so basely traduced.

"Her Majesty is attended by Lady Anne Hamilton, and only one female and three male servants.

"Her Majesty's chamberlains, the Count Bergami and the Count Vassali, requested their own dismissal. They acknowledged the pleasure which they had had in being her servants for six years, but having at last placed her in the protection of her friends, and about to take refuge in the arms of her people, they presumed from among these people she would be enabled to find persons, perhaps, less likely to excite prejudice. These gentlemen have returned to their own country.

"The letter written by her Majesty to Lord

Liverpool, then residing a suitable residence, was as follows :—

"*Villeneuve le Roi, May* 29, 1820.

"Having been prevented by indisposition from arriving sooner in England, I take now the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Earl of Liverpool my intention of arriving in London next Saturday, 3d of June; and I desire that the Earl of Liverpool will give proper orders that one of the royal yachts should be in readiness at Calais to convey me to Dover; and likewise, that he would be pleased to signify to me his Majesty's intention as to what residence is to be allotted for me, either for a temporary or a permanent habitation. I trust that his Majesty the King is perfectly recovered from his late severe indisposition.

(Signed) "CAROLINE, Queen of England.

"*To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.*"

"The letter to Lord Melville, the first lord of the admiralty, was written by Lady Anne Hamilton; it was as follows :—

"*Villeneuve le Roi, May* 29.

"Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her Majesty the Queen of England, to signify to Lord Melville, that it is her Majesty's intention to return to England immediately—therefore she desires that Lord Melville would be so good as to give orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais next Saturday, 3d June, to convey her Majesty and suite to England."

"To this the answer subjoined was received by Lady Anne Hamilton, at St. Omer's :—

"*Admiralty, 1st June, nine a. m.*

"Lord Melville had the honour to receive yesterday Lady Anne Hamilton's note of the 29th ult. conveying the information that the Queen intends being at Calais to-morrow. His Majesty, however, being absent from London, Lord Melville cannot receive his commands as to the Board of Admiralty giving orders for one of the royal yachts to proceed at present to Calais."

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"While her Majesty was on the road to Calais she met a courier, proceeding to Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson, with dispatches."

The following details are essential to the connection of this narrative, though one or two facts are therein briefly repeated:—"Mr. Brougham, whose opinion was asked, is said neither to have recommended the adoption nor the rejection of the proposals. His remark was, that her Majesty was the best judge of the real state of her case, and that it was for her to decide what was best and most consistent with that knowledge. Her Majesty did decide: she sent off couriers immediately to prepare horses on the road to Calais, and the packet to convey her to Dover. Nay, with so determined a spirit was she animated, that she declared that, rather than delay her voyage, she would put to sea in an open boat! And accordingly, as soon as the preparations were completed, her Majesty left St. Omer's, and never stopped till she embarked on board the English packet. Mr. Brougham did not attend her Majesty even to the coach-door, nor did he follow her: he remained with Lord Hutchinson at St. Omer's."

Mr. Brougham could have been no party to the proposals which have been enumerated: his acute mind must have seen, that, putting all views of infamy and degradation out of the question, if her Majesty was guilty of the offences imputed to her, she had no right to receive 50,000*l.* annually from a generous people: if she was innocent, then no

human being had the right to call upon her to renounce her claim to her just titles, privileges, and dignity. If, therefore, any difference of opinion existed between the Queen and Mr. Brougham, it could scarcely be on the broad question of the rejection or adoption of the proposals brought by Lord Hutchinson. In justice to Mr. Brougham, it must likewise be observed, that Lord Hutchinson, though his fellow-traveller, never disclosed his message, even in substance, till he came into the presence of the Queen. Lord Hutchinson, at both interviews with her Majesty, particularly at the last, was so agitated as to be scarcely able to articulate. Her Majesty was high-spirited, firm, and decisive.

It seems that when Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson first arrived at St. Omer's, on Saturday evening, Mr. Brougham was first introduced to her Majesty, who was taking coffee: after a few complimentary observations on both sides, Mr. Brougham announced to the Queen that Lord Hutchinson, who had formerly been a warm friend to her Majesty, and who was now a confidential friend of the King, had come, in the spirit of sincere friendship to both, to make some proposals in his Majesty's name. The Queen immediately answered, that she should be most happy to see Lord Hutchinson forthwith: his lordship was accordingly introduced, and took coffee with her Majesty, who conversed on indifferent topics till his lordship rose to go away, when her Majesty said, that as she understood he had

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some proposals to make to her from the King, she should wish to see them in writing, and without delay. In consequence of this request, Lord Hutchinson wrote the following letter to Mr. Brougham, as the official adviser of her Majesty:—

[illegible] command of the Queen, I have to inform you, that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which I could lay before her Majesty, but I can detail to you, for her information, the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's ministers propose that 50,000*l.* per annum should be settled on the Queen for life, subject to such conditions as the King may impose. I have also reasons to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his Majesty are, that the Queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part of the United Kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to Parliament, and an entire end to all compromise and negotiation. I believe that there is no other condition—I am sure none of any importance.—I think it right to send you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me: his words are—'It is material that her Majesty should know confidentially, that if she shall be so ill advised as to come over to this country, there must be then an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision, I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shore.'—I cannot conclude this letter without my humble, though serious and sincere supplication, that her Majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration, and not act with any [illegible] advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious counsel to the Queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with [illegible] the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case [illegible] the decision of which the King, the Queen, the government, and

the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion; but it is her Majesty's decision, and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the Queen has refused to give any, even the shortest delay.

"I have the honour to be,

"SIR,

"With great regard, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "HUTCHINSON."

"Mr. Brougham accordingly presented the letter: the moment her Majesty read it she expressed the utmost indignation, and appealed to Mr. Brougham for his opinion. That gentleman remarked, that certainly those were not conditions which he should advise her Majesty to accept; at the same time he begged her Majesty to consider what conditions she might be pleased to accept: her Majesty best knew what was befitting her real situation. The Queen promptly replied—"*My determination is soon formed: I shall set out instantly for England—it is in London, and in London alone, that I shall consent to consider any proposals of the King of England.*"

"Her Majesty then requested Alderman Wood, whose kind assistance she had hitherto so frequently experienced, to order horses to be immediately put to the carriages, and to dispatch a courier to prepare horses on the road between St. Omer's and Calais. She was particularly anxious on this

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last point, having evidently a very strong apprehension that the French government might endeavour to intercept, or at least retard, her passage to the coast, by refusing horses. This apprehension will account for her Majesty's haste to leave St. Omer's, and to put herself on board an English packet. At half-past five she left St. Omer's, in company with Lady Anne Hamilton: her female attendants followed in another carriage, and a third carriage conveyed Alderman Wood, his son, and young Austin. Mr. Brougham did not make his appearance, even to hand her Majesty to her coach: it was supposed that she dispensed with his attendance. Lord Hutchinson likewise refrained from showing himself; and thus the professional friend of the Queen, and the confidential friend of the King, were left behind, to mingle reflections on the event which had just taken place.

"It may be proper to mention, that her Majesty was, on walking down the steps of the hotel, at St. Omer's, warmly greeted by a great number of ladies of the first respectability, both French and English. A Greek lady, the wife of Mr. Copeland, an English banker about to settle at Paris, was introduced to her Majesty, who paid her some compliments on her interesting appearance: the lady answered in Italian, and wished her Majesty a pleasant voyage, and a speedy victory over her enemies. The Queen gave her an animated smile, and in Italian returned her warm thanks for her good wishes. Nothing particular happened between this and her

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Majesty's embarkation on board the Prince Leopold in Calais harbour.

"Though this embarkation took place at eleven o'clock on Sunday night, it was not till six o'clock the next morning that the vessel could work out of the harbour. Unfortunately the wind being due west for several hours prevented the packet from making any way; but at about eleven o'clock a breeze sprung up from the south, and very speedily brought the Queen of England near her own shores. Though the voyage was tedious, her Majesty did not suffer any inconvenience from sea-sickness, but remained on deck, conversing chiefly on the present political condition of this country.

"In the mean time, certain intelligence had been received at Dover of her Majesty's approach, and some confusion seemed to exist among the military authorities as to the mode of receiving her Majesty. At last Colonel Monroe, who is the commandant of the garrison, determined to receive her Majesty with a royal salute: he observed, it was reported, that as no special instructions had been sent to him, he conceived that he should best discharge his duty by obeying the general rule, which was to fire a royal salute whenever a royal personage landed at Dover. This sensible decision gave great satisfaction to the people of Dover, who were already flocking in vast numbers, and all dressed as if for a fête, in order to view the disembarkation of their Queen.

"The packet, at about a quarter before one,

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came close into the roads, but, on account of the tide, could not enter the harbour. Her Majesty, with her usual promptitude, as soon as she understood that it would be five o'clock before the vessel could get into the pier, determined to go on shore in an open boat, though the swell of water was so considerable as to make it difficult to descend the ship's side. At length, however, her Majesty and suite were safely placed in the boat, which rapidly approached the shore, amidst the most enthusiastic cheerings from the countless multitudes on the beach, the heights, and all the avenues leading to the principal hotel.

"At one o'clock her Majesty put her foot on British ground: the royal salute began to fire, and an universal shout of congratulation welcomed her arrival. For a few moments her countenance and manner bespoke considerable agitation: she was visibly affected by the cordial symptoms of regard which welcomed her home: but she soon recovered herself, and with a firm step, a composed manner, and a smiling but steady countenance, walked slowly along the crowded ranks of the principal inhabitants. Well-dressed females, young and old, saluted her as she passed with exclamations of "God bless her—she has a noble spirit—she must be innocent!" The Queen returned the salutations with the warmest marks of affectionate pleasure, and repeatedly thanked them for their expressions of cordial attachment.—She appeared in good health, her blue eyes shining with peculiar lustre, but her

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cheeks had the appearance of a long intimacy with care and anxiety. She was not so lusty as formerly, but her manner and figure altogether seemed perfectly befitting her exalted station. She was dressed with great elegance. As she moved along, the crowd gathered so fast, and pressed so closely around her, that she was compelled to take refuge in the York Hotel. Mr. Wright, of the Ship Hotel, seeing that it would be impossible for her Majesty to reach his house on foot, immediately dispatched a handsome open carriage to the York. Her Majesty, Lady Hamilton, and Alderman Wood ascended the carriage; the populace removed the horses, and drew it themselves. A band of music preceded her Majesty, and two large flags, bearing the inscription of "God save Queen Caroline," were carried by some of the principal tradesmen.

"A guard of honour was placed at the door of the hotel, but the people did not seem to relish their appearance, and the Queen observing to Alderman Wood that their presence appeared rather to produce an unpleasant and angry feeling, the worthy alderman suggested the propriety of their going away. After playing "God save the King," the soldiers retired, and the populace seemed highly delighted.—Her Majesty observed, that although she appreciated as it deserved the attentions of the commandant, yet that she wanted no guard of soldiers: her firm reliance was on the just principles and cordial attachment of her people. Her

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Majesty then went to the principal window of the hotel, and bowed several times with great grace and sweetness of manner to the happy assemblage. She then retired, and, first taking a slight refreshment, lay down to rest after the harassing fatigues of body and mind which she had undergone.

"At five o'clock she awoke, and desired that the carriages, which she now understood had been brought on shore, should be speedily got ready, as she would set off for Canterbury that evening, and if possible reach Sittingbourne to sleep.

"The Queen was expected to leave the town at six The road from Dover to Canterbury was crowded with people: indeed the whole population of the latter town were out in the streets to greet her Majesty. The general in command had ordered a guard of honour for her reception, and the mayor and corporation intended (if her Majesty should stop) to present an address. The people at Sittingbourne were equally on the alert, and the road was lined with hundreds from the neighbouring towns of Faversham and Milton."

From Canterbury to Sittingbourne her Majesty was accompanied by a great number of young officers of the cavalry regiments then stationed at Canterbury. No language can describe the unbounded enthusiasm—the unfeigned joy—and affectionate language of all classes of persons as her Majesty passed through the various towns and villages on her way to London. In many towns the horses

were forcibly taken from her carriage, which was drawn along the streets by the enraptured populace.

It was in the afternoon of June 6th when her Majesty arrived in South Audley Street, where she alighted at the house of the truly generous and patriotic Alderman Wood, who had made previous preparations for the reception of his illustrious mistress. Different opinions were formed of the propriety of this choice of the worthy alderman's house, in preference to many others that might have been found for the Queen's temporary residence. Mr. Alderman Wood had long been known to the public as a most decided oppositionist to all the measures of his Majesty's government; and this choice of his house and protection seemed to confirm the idea that her Majesty had come to England, not so much to prove her innocence of the crimes laid to her charge, as, to adopt the language used on that occasion, "to become the rallying point of *radicalism** and disaffection." I am

* It may not be improper to preserve in this work, some account of the nature and origin of that system of reform, as it was called, which has become so generally known by this newly-coined term, *radicalism*. In former periods of our history it is generally to be observed, that the country had been divided into two great political parties only;—we have had the *Roundheads*, and the *Cavaliers*—the *Puritans* and the *Episcopalians*—the WHIGS and the TORIES—the *Ministerialists* and the *Oppositionists*; but latterly new distinctions have sprung up; not, indeed, so much amongst the supporters of the crown and the aristocracy, who are still denominated *Tories* or *Ministerialists*; as amongst the *Whigs*, or the *Oppositionists*. A third party has made its appearance, who condemn without mercy all those of their former brethren who are not for what they call *radical* reform in church and state. These men are for simplifying every thing, or, as they tell us, for reducing all matters

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persuaded that these surmises respecting her Majesty's motive in taking up her residence at the

to a sort of original standard. A venerable advocate of *reform*, of the name of *Cartwright*, with another ancient warrior in the same service, *Mr. Jeremy Bentham*, are the only persons who may be called the *antiquaries* and *classics* of the party. These dive into ancient lore for arguments in favour of *radicalism*; and have discovered, in Saxon laws and Saxon institutions, abundant reasons why the governments of the 19th century should re-model their institutions according to those ancient patterns. But the writings of these two worthy men (for worthy men they undoubtedly are), were rather too prolix, profound, and antiquated for the great bulk of the *radicals*. Accordingly a numerous race of plainer political *literati* made their appearance, whose lucubrations were not so deeply laid, and whose style was better suited to the meridian of these new reformers. Amongst these should be mentioned the names of Cobbett, Wooler, Thelwall, Carlile, and Hone. I know not whether I should rank Hone as one of the *writers*, or as a hirer of others to write in the cause of radicalism. The productions of these several gentlemen had various degrees of merit and of demerit; but all tending to the same point of *radical* reform, which they reduced to a few obvious tenets: *Universal Suffrage*—*Annual Parliaments*—and *Election by Ballot*. This was the political trinity of these new-fangled statesmen; and they enforced their creed and propagated their doctrines in every possible shape; from the solemn epic and the sad and sombre elegy, to the humble ballad, and the most ludicrous *jeu d'esprit*; in elaborate essays of a half-crown each, and in weekly dolings, at two-pence the number. Whilst Major Cartwright came out only occasionally in a heavy closely printed pamphlet of 100 pages, Wooler, Cobbett, and Carlile made their weekly entrances in the plain and homely garb of an unwrapped sheet of bad paper, and worse print. But in most of these—if we except the horrid blasphemy of Carlile—there very frequently appeared much originality of thought, and, at times, some forcible argument. The "Black Dwarf" of Mr. Wooler was often amusingly poetical; and the blunt sophisms of Mr. Cobbett as often most laughably ludicrous. But for wit and bon-mot, though frequently blended with disgusting allusions, and shockingly libellous personalities, Mr. Hone's publications had the greatest merit. I say nothing of his parodies of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.; I speak chiefly of his laughable parodies of some of our well-known nursery tales, a correct list of which, together with those to which they gave rise, on both sides of the question, amounting in the whole to perhaps not fewer than fifty or sixty pamphlets, *adorned* with wood-cuts, will, at a future time, be deemed quite as curious and as valuable as the collections of halfpenny ballads, for which such enormous sums have been recently paid by certain bibliomaniacs of our own times.

Such was the *taste* of the country at the time I am here speaking

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house of Mr. Alderman Wood were without foundation. That gentleman had certainly enlisted

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of, and such the origin and state of radicalism in the years 1819, 1820, and 1821!

Just as this sheet was going to press, I had a pamphlet put into my hand, entitled "Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley," &c. purporting to be written by a Mr. Richard Watson, whom I have since discovered to be a Methodist teacher, somewhere in London. This man has taken it into his head to charge me with having "recently" become a manufacturer of "*blasphemy* and *sedition*," and roundly accuses me with being "writer in chief to Mr. Hone."—Nay, he has the boldness to mention some of Mr. Hone's publications by name, as coming from my pen. It is not to convince *Mr. Richard Watson*, that I declare the charge he has made against me to be totally false and malicious; for, if I may judge of his disposition by the ridiculous virulence of his writing, conviction of guilt would work no reformation in *him*. If, to adopt his own language, Mr. Watson's "libels" are *not* "below contempt," he certainly does appear to be one of those "authors," that are "above shame." To the Rev. Dr. Evans, the Rev. Mr. Polwhele, and to Mr. Southey himself, all of whom Mr. Watson has chosen to attempt to slander through my sides, I owe it openly to declare, that I never wrote a line for Mr. Hone in my life; and that my writings have hitherto been devoted to other, and diametrically different objects, than the dissemination of "blasphemy and sedition." Mr. Watson ought to be made acquainted with the fact, that, in thus falsely charging me with those horrid crimes, he has rendered himself amenable to the offended laws of his country. As to his other wicked and insidious insinuations about my "profession" as "an author," &c. it were, *in this place*, a folly to combat them, after this detection and exposure of his *falsehood* respecting Mr. Hone's "writer in chief." Mr. Watson's book was put into my hands by a truly respectable and intelligent member of the Methodist society, who was shocked at the conduct of brother Watson; and equally indignant at his persecuting and calumnious spirit. But that gentleman had long resided under my own roof, and knew me and my principles, both religious and political, very well.—Mr. Watson's ignorance ought not to screen him from the reproof he has so richly merited; but I expect no retraction, nor any concession from such *christians* as Mr. Watson. *Their* notions of repentance never extend to *confession*, nor urge them to *recompense* the parties they injure. Mr. Wesley would have acted differently; and the religion he so successfully propagated teaches a different spirit; but what is all this to Mr. Richard Watson? Perhaps it may not be improper here to state, that this man's violence against the late Queen, had nearly produced a serious schism in the Methodist connection; this is stated on the authority of some worthy members, who have expressed their sorrow and disgust at Mr. W.'s unchristian, and I should hope, *anti-methodistical* spirit.

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himself in the Queen's cause, and had exerted his energies, both of mind, body, and estate, in a very extraordinary and praise-worthy manner, to rescue her Majesty from the hands of her enemies; and it had savoured of ingratitude in the Queen to have refused him the honour of choosing him for her protector in this country, after having been deserted by all her natural protectors both at home and abroad. It was a confidence due to his zeal, his disinterestedness, and his unshaken loyalty; for I contend that the true spirit of loyalty operates on all good subjects as much in favour of her Majesty the Queen as in that of his Majesty the King. The same law which makes it treason to "imagine or intend" the King's death or dethronement, applies with equal force against those imagining the death or dethronement of the Queen.* Neither is the Queen's title less sacred than that of the King's. Seldon† says, that the Queen-wives of the kingdoms of Europe use their titles of *Regina et Domina*‡ as the kings those of REX ET DOMINUS.§ They have, he adds, also the attribute of Majesty, and the addition, *Dei gratiæ*‖ in the expressions of their names.

* If any do compass the death of the Queen, and declare it by any overt act, the very *intent* is treason, as in the case of the King. *Vide Coke upon Littleton*, 133, b. See also the statutes 25 Ed. III. stat. 5. chap. 2.; and 1 Hen. 4. c. 11. Also Kelyng 20, 3 Inst. 4, 6, 113; 8 Co. 28. and numerous other authorities.

† Titles of Honour, chap. vi. p. 205, folio ed. 1726.

‡ Queen and Lady.

§ King and Lord.

‖ By the grace of God.

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To these considerations may be added the fact, that our queens have numerous important rights and prerogatives, which fully entitle them to the fealty and homage of their subjects, though they are themselves, in the highest sense of the word, subjects to the King their husband and sovereign. They have ability, by law, of making gifts, grants, or contracts, without the King.* They have the prerogative of receiving by gift from their husbands, which no other *femme covert* may do.† They may sue and be sued without the King;‡ and may have in themselves the possession of personal things during their lives; but both their real and personal estates go to the King after their deaths, provided they do not in their life-time dispose of them, or devise them away by will.§—Our Queens may also have their courts and officers, as if they were sole persons; and, not to mention many other powers and prerogatives appertaining to the Queens of England, I will briefly notice their ancient revenue of what is called *aurum reginæ*, or queen gold. This is a royal debt, duty, and revenue of every Queen Consort of England, during her marriage to the King, by the ancient law of England, from every person, both in England and Ireland, for every gift or oblation, or voluntary obligation, or fine to the King, amounting to ten marks, or more, for privi-

* 9 Ed. I. Rot. Chart. memb. 4.
† 11 Ed. I. Rot. Walliæ, or of Wales, and sundry others.
‡ Rep. 23. b. 26 Eliz. &c.
§ *Vide* Co. Litt. 3, 31, 133, &c.

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leges, franchises, dispensations, licenses, pardons, or grants of royal grace or favour conferred by the King, which is a tenth part, besides the fine to the King; *i. e.* one mark for every 10*l.* and 10*l.* for every 100*l.* and was usually paid in gold, as one mark in gold to the Queen for every 100 marks in silver to the King; an ounce of gold at that time being ten times as much in value as an ounce of silver. And this becomes a debt on record to the Queen by recording the fine to the King, without any contract; and this by ancient prescription beyond the memory of man, in the first age of the law.

This is proved from records of the Tower and Exchequer, so ancient as Hen. II. in the year 1177; and in that age it was said to be *secundum consuetud' Anglie Jura Scaccar*, according to the custom of England, and the rights of the king's exchequer, which may fairly be supposed to reach at least to the Conquest.*

In whatever light, therefore, we view the conduct of the Queen in taking up her residence for a short time at the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, it were unjust to withhold from that respectable gentleman the fact of his having merited such a distinction, for his loyalty and zeal for the interests of a personage to whom so many and so great prerogatives belong.

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* Ancient Dialogue of Exchequer, published in 1758, chap. xii. p. 57.

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Before we proceed further, it will be proper to lay before the reader a short biographical sketch of the life of the worthy alderman who makes so conspicuous a figure in many parts of these Memoirs.

Mr. Matthew Wood is the eldest son of the late William Wood, of Tiverton, in Devonshire, whose ancestors had the honour of first introducing into that town a particular branch of the woollen trade, which has subsisted for a longer period than a century: the father of Mr. Wood carried on this trade for more than forty years to a considerable extent, and was enabled by his industry to bring up, with great reputation, a numerous family. Having lived to an advanced age much respected, his death was regretted by all his relations and friends. Mr. Wood was placed at school in Exeter at a very early age, and afterwards at Tiverton; he was then placed in the city of Exeter, with a relation, who was concerned in a very extensive wholesale and retail trade; and during the latter period of his connection with this house he travelled through the western counties, thus laying a foundation, by his integrity and activity, for his future advancement.

In the year 1790 he engaged with a wholesale house in London, for which he travelled several years. He then formed a partnership, and commenced business in Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate Street; soon after this event, he married his present wife, who is the daughter of the late J. Page, of Woodbridge, in the county of Suffolk,

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Engraved by R. Page

M. WOOD. ESQR. ALD. & M. P.

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Esq. by whom he has five children, viz. three sons and two daughters. The matrimonial connection which Mr. Wood formed contributed in a very high degree to his domestic comfort: and their children, as they advanced in years, manifested talents and dispositions, and acquired accomplishments, that could not fail to gratify their parents, and to encourage the most flattering expectations in the progress of their lives.

About fifteen or sixteen years ago Mr. Wood formed a mercantile connection with the late Lieutenant-Colonel Wigan; and in the connection then established he continued, many years, under the firm of Wood, Wigan, and Wood, hop-merchants. This trade they carried on to a very considerable extent. Some years since he became interested in a copper mine in Cornwall, the Wheel Crennis, where 1200 persons were daily employed. It is highly honourable to Mr. Wood, and the fact ought to be mentioned, as a stimulous to the emulation of others, that he owes his success, and the influence that has accrued from it, solely to the energy and exertions of his own mind; for although his father died rich, if we estimate worth by integrity, it was his lot, as it has been that of many others, to transmit to his children only the grateful memorial of an approved character, and that blessing of Providence which seldom fails to prosper the honest and active efforts of those who trace the footsteps of their virtuous progenitors.

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About eighteen years ago he was elected a member of the corporation of London for the ward of Cripplegate Without; and he has ever since lived in the most perfect harmony and friendship with all the inhabitants of this ward. About the year 1803, when the spirit for volunteering commenced, he was one of the most active persons in promoting it: a regiment, consisting of about 800 men, was formed in his ward, united with three others, and Mr. Wood was requested to take the lieutenant-colonelcy; but he gladly allowed to accept only the majority. He was extremely regular and active, and paid all possible attention to the training and discipline of the regiment. When the vacancy of alderman of the ward of Cripplegate occurred, in consequence of the death of Sir William Staines, Mr. Wood was absent on a tour of pleasure in Ireland, with his family; but though he was absent, and could not avail himself of those conciliatory qualities which particularly distinguished his character, and which could not have failed to recommend him on a personal canvass, the electors of the ward testified their high estimation of him by unanimously choosing him as their alderman.

In the year 1809, which was a year that teemed with interesting events, he served the office of sheriff; and in the discharge of the arduous duties of this office he conducted himself in a manner so satisfactory to his fellow citizens, that he several times received their cordial and unanimous thanks

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About this time, or soon after, he was appointed chairman of a committee, established for the improvement of the city; and in this capacity he was distinguished by the assiduity of his exertions; devoting his time and talents to the important objects of which the committee was constituted. Mr. Wood took the lead in proposing a new prison for debtors, with a laudable view of separating them from the felons in Newgate; and this object, so just in itself, and so beneficial in its consequences, he has had the pleasure of seeing accomplished. But the regulations and restrictions which he established, whilst lord mayor, in this prison, called forth much animadversion at the time.

In the year 1815 he was called to the civic chair, and was always found anxiously attentive to the multifarious duties of that high and distinguished office; always at his post, free and easy of access to every person, and on every necessary occasion punctual to all his appointments; and incessantly active in deciding and executing every measure that could contribute to the amelioration of the police of the city, he was found at an early and a late hour regulating the day and night patrole, and, with a great sacrifice of a variety of domestic and social comforts, endeavouring to the utmost of his power, and with a very considerable degree of success, to remove the nuisances that disgraced the city and offended its inhabitants.

So highly was he esteemed by his fellow-citizens, that he was next year again elected lord mayor.

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It is not my intention, in this biographical sketch, to trace at large the whole of his political conduct; but this we must be allowed to say, that no magistrate in the same situation ever discharged his duty more diligently or more impartially. Whatever might be his political creed, and however he might differ from some others of his fellow-citizens in his sentiments with regard to public men and public measures, he never suffered differences of this kind to interfere in the execution of the duties of his office, nor to bias his judgment or influence his conduct under the character of the chief magistrate of the city. He has ever been a steady, consistent, and ardent friend and advocate of liberty, civil and religious; and that he has been invariably zealous in supporting the rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens, we may appeal to those who are least in unison with him as to politics, and they will concur with us in opinion that he possesses, in a high degree, the happy talent of blending candour and good humour with inflexible integrity, and a heart ever sympathizing with distress, and prompting him to stretch on this hand and to open his purse for its relief. Amongst those objects that have engaged his particular attention, I cannot forbear to mention the education of the poor—to charities for this purpose he has been a liberal benefactor; he has devoted his time, as well as his money and influence, to the promotion of them; and there are thousands of children in the metropolis and its environs who are indebted to him, and

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to some illustrious Princes of the house of Brunswick co-operating with him, under Providence, for their knowledge and their virtue, and for the abilities which they have acquired to become useful and reputable in their humble stations.

In the year 1818, Mr. Wood was elected member of parliament for the city of London; and again at the next election he was placed in that honourable situation. As a member of parliament he has not made a very conspicuous figure, but seldom attempting a long speech, and never a very eloquent one, except when the interest of the city of London, or some local object of benevolence, call forth his powers of reasoning, which, though unadorned by the flowers of oratory, are always fraught with sound sense and practical utility.

During the riots of Spa Fields, in the year 1816, Mr. Wood, being then lord mayor, exerted himself with great and laudable success in their suppression; for which he merited the notice of his Sovereign, and the honours of a baronetcy; but his own avowed political opinions, though in this instance proved to be perfectly loyal, and faithful to the established laws, proved a barrier to his receiving any honours or favours at court. I am unwilling to think that Mr. Wood's known attachment to the cause and interests of the Princess of Wales had any effect in the withholding from him those rewards, for his loyal exertions on the occasion above alluded to, which his friends and the public had a right to expect would have been conferred upon him.

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But Mr. Wood has a claim to higher honours than any thing which the King or his ministers can confer upon him, if it were only for the following single act of his life. I think it was during Mrs Wood's last mayoralty that three very poor, young and still more illiterate, young Irish labourers were tried, convicted, and sentenced to lose their lives at the Old Bailey, for having been guilty of coining. Through the persevering zeal and philanthropic exertions of Mr. Alderman Wood, the innocence of these unfortunate young men was fully established, and it was proved that they had nearly fallen victims to one of the most horrid and abominable conspiracies (with the exception of that lately detected against her Majesty the Queen) that this country ever witnessed. They received the royal pardon; and a subscription having been set on foot for their temporary support, they were sent home, full of gratitude to their benevolent deliverer. Brock, Pelham, and Power, the real offenders, were convicted, and sentenced to death; but their sentence was not carried into execution!!

Mr. Wood's religious opinions are, I believe, what are usually denominated *liberal*, but I am too well aware of the bigotry of many persons holding what they call liberal opinions in religion, to let this pass without farther description. Mr. Wood is an occasional attendant on the ministry of the venerable and truly worthy editor of the celebrated Cyclopedia, Dr. Rees, of Jewin Street chapel, which is in the English Presbyterian deno-

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mission. If therefore we may be permitted to form a judgment of Mr. Alderman Wood's religious creed from that of his excellent pastor, he is also removed from the cheerless and, I think, in many parts unscriptural tenets of the modern Unitarians (often maliciously nicknamed Socinians), and the mysterious and heart-appalling dogmas of Calvinism. He neither insults the Messiah by describing him as something that he does not describe himself, nor degrades him by reducing his character to that of a mere man—one, as the late ingenious Dr. Priestley used to say, who was "peccable, liable to sin, and subject to error;" a description of the Redeemer of the world, in my mind, utterly at variance with the divine and immaculate nature of him who, possessing the "fulness of the Godhead bodily," was as far removed, in his very nature, from all liability to sin, though not from all human weakness, as He of whose glory he was the brightness—of whose Person he was the express moral image. Judging, I say, of Mr. Wood's religious views by those of his worthy pastor, he is one who maintains the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to teach us the way to Heaven, without any of those fanciful aids which many good but mistaken Christians have imagined the essential to a right use and understanding of precepts so plain, that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein; yet at the same time believing, that nothing is more illiberal than the supposition, that all those

who hold contrary opinions are necessarily fools and bigots; or who, being zealous in what they conceive to be the cause of God and truth, are, therefore, persecutors and fanatics. But whatever are Mr. Wood's peculiar notions of religion, he is a good man, and is too enlightened to suffer himself to become a bigot. Although an attendant at a dissenting chapel, he very frequently conforms to the worship and rites of the Established Church of England, and joins in devout prayer and praise before the common Father of all mankind with his illustrious and royal mistress the Queen, whose religious duties, according to the prescribed forms, she is said constantly and zealously to regard and observe.

Of the part which Mr. Wood has taken in the cause of her Majesty, these memoirs have already given ample evidence. He wandered over a great portion of Italy—not like a Milan commissioner, in search of falsehood, and under the direction of spies; but in search of truth—in attempting—not like them to destroy, but to save his Queen; and wherever he went he found ample proofs of her innocence and her goodness, at the same time that he discovered more and more of the active malignity of her Majesty's enemies, and the hellish nature of the plot that was laid for her destruction. Mr. Wood's son was then in Italy, acting as an interpreter to those who were, like his excellent father, employed in the same "work and labour of love: the rescuing the most amiable and interesting Princess in Europe from the grasp of a

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host of inveterate persecutors. That he has been mainly instrumental in the accomplishment of this great work will redound to his eternal honour, and will be mentioned as an act of the most magnanimous and patriotic nature, and one that will adorn his character as a good citizen and a dutiful subject, when those who affect to sneer at his labours, or to despise his understanding, shall be remembered only as cowards and traitors—as persecutors and slanderers of their lawful Queen.

Such is the brief account I have been able to collect of Mr. Alderman Wood, whose integrity and uprightness of life and character ought, at least, to have screened him from the slanders of faction, and the sneers of the envious and the disappointed.

It was not till I had advanced thus far in these Memoirs that I laid my hands on the following document, which, however, is too important to be omitted, notwithstanding it has reference to some facts already mentioned. It is an extract from a letter written by her Majesty immediately on the determination which she had formed of returning to England, and is fully confirmative of many circumstances related concerning the treatment which her Majesty received as soon as it was known on the Continent that she had acceded to the title of Queen; and that, nevertheless, the Court of Carlton House had judged it expedient to erase her name from the Liturgy:—

"During my residence at Milan, in consequence of the infamous behaviour of Mr. Ompteda (he having bribed my servants to become the traducers of my character), one of my English gentlemen challenged him: the Austrian government sent off Mr. Ompteda. I wrote myself to the Emperor of Austria, requesting his protection against spies, who employed persons to introduce themselves into my house, and particularly into my kitchen, to poison the dishes prepared for my table. I never received any answer to this letter. After this I was obliged to go into Germany, to visit my relatives, the Margravine of Baden, and the Margravine of Bareith: the shortest road for my return to Italy was through Vienna, and I took that road with the flattering hope that the Emperor would protect me. Arrived at Vienna, I demanded public satisfaction for the public insult I had received in Lombardy: this was refused me, and a new insult was offered. The Emperor refused to meet me, or to accept my visit. Lord Stewart, the English ambassador, having received a letter from me, informing him of my intention of returning by Vienna, and of taking possession of his house there, (as it is the custom of foreign ambassadors to receive their Princesses into their houses when travelling,) absolutely refused me his house, left the town, and retired into the country. Lord Stewart afterwards wrote a very impertinent letter to me, which is now in Mr. Canning's hands, as I sent it to England. Finding the Austrian government so much influenced by the English ministers, I sold my villa on the Lake of Como, and settled myself quietly in the Roman estates. I there met with great civility for some time, and protection against the spy, Mr. Ompteda; but from the moment I became Queen of England all civility ceased. Cardinal Gonsalvi has been much influenced since that period by the Baron de Rydan, the Hanoverian minister, who succeeded Mr. Ompteda, deceased. The Baron de Rydan has taken an oath never to acknowledge me as Queen of England, and persuades every person to call me Caroline of Brunswick. A guard has been refused me as Queen, which was granted to me as Princess of Wales, because no communication has been received from the British government announcing me as Queen. My messenger was refused a passport for England. I also experienced much insult from the Court of Turin. Last year, in the month of Sept. (I was then travelling incognito, under the name of the

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Countess Oldi,) I went to the confines of the Austrian estates, to the first small town belonging to the King of Sardinia, on my way to meet Mr. Brougham, at the direct road into Turin. I wrote myself to the Queen of Sardinia, informing her that I could not remain at Paris, being anxious to reach Lyons as soon as possible, and also that I was travelling *incognito*. I received no answer to this letter. The post-master at Bronto, the small post-town near the country villa where I then resided, absolutely refused me post-horses; in consequence of this refusal I wrote to Mr. Hill, the English minister at Turin, demanding immediate satisfaction, and the reason for such an insult. Mr. Hill excused himself upon the plea of its being a misunderstanding, and told me that post-horses would be in readiness whenever I should require them. I accordingly set out, and arranged to go through the town of Turin at night, and only to stop to change horses; but I received positive orders not to go through the town, but to proceed by a very circuitous road, which obliged me to travel almost the whole night in very dangerous roads, and prevented me from reaching the post-town (where I should have passed the night) till five in the morning, when by going through Turin I might have reached it by ten o'clock at night. Finding so much difficulty attending my travelling, I thought the most proper mode for me to pursue would be to acquaint the high personages of my intention of passing the winter at Lyons, or in the neighbourhood of Lyons, previous to my intended return to England in the spring. I addressed a note to the French minister for foreign affairs, informing him of my intentions, and also that I wished to preserve the strictest *incognito*. No notice was taken of this letter, and one addressed to the Prefect of Lyons met with like contempt. In fact, from the 7th of October to the 28th of January, the day I embarked from Toulon for Leghorn, I received so much insult from the governors and prefects, that I almost considered my life in danger, unprotected as I then was, in such a country. Another motive induced me to leave it. Mr. Brougham could not fix the period for meeting me any where in France. I have written to Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, demanding to have my name inserted in the Liturgy of the Church of England, and that orders be given to all British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, that I should be received and acknowledged as the Queen of England; and after the speech made by Lord Castlereagh in the House of

Commons, in answer to Mr. Brougham, I do not intend to experience further insult. I have also demanded that a palace may be prepared for my reception. England is my real home, to which I shall immediately fly, if I have dismissed my Italian court, retaining only a sufficient number of persons to conduct me to England; and if Buckingham House, Marlborough House, or any other palace is refused me, I shall take a house in the country till my friends can find a palace for me in London. I have sent a messenger to England to make the proper arrangements for that purpose."

It is remarkable with what facility modern courts and modern statesmen fall into each other's habits and views, when those habits and views do not happen to stand in the way of their own individual aggrandizement. Thus it was with respect to her Majesty Queen Caroline. A frown at Carlton House was speedily copied on the other side of the British Channel. A cloud in London darkened all Austria and France, and even shot its gloomy shadows athwart the azure aspect of the Italian skies. The orthodoxy of his Papal Holiness at Rome was influenced by the *heretics* of the British council; and that "servant of the servants of God,"—the Pope, affected to attach importance to the forms of a schismatic liturgy! But persecution, though it makes no part of the tenets of Catholicism, has so long been the *practice* of its professors, it were a pity that the Pope should not embrace the opportunity of exercising his vocation at the expense of the Queen of England, seeing that his *Holiness* could not well come at the *King* of England, through whose exertions he then held his situation on the papal throne, and the money

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and blood of whose subjects had restored him to his dominions.

As for his *most Christian* Majesty Louis XVIII. it is only necessary to remark, that probably he might think himself bound in gratitude to King George IV. to insult his wife, because King George III. had screened him, in a snug retreat, at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, from the power of the usurper Buonaparte. When, however, we reflect on the protection afforded to Louis by her Majesty's family on the Continent, we might naturally conclude that this most *Christian* King would have acted quite as much in the spirit of Christianity had he meted out his gratitude in a somewhat more even-handed manner.

The Emperor of Austria and the *Grand* Duke of Baden did well to act the despot over the Queen of England, because they also, in a very eminent degree, owed their lives and safety to that England to which her Majesty was then flying for justice and protection.

Those who have done me the honour to peruse my former publications, well know that this is not the strain in which I have generally spoken of the monarchs and governments of Europe; but as I never lent myself to a party, for mere party purposes—as I have ever considered that evil is evil, from whatever source it may spring, whether from kings or beggars—and also, as I have never hesitated for a single moment, at whatever expense of private comforts and conveniences, to express my

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abhorrence of what I have conceived to be wrong, or my approbation of what was right, I disregard all charges of inconsistency in thus speaking of those who have persecuted and wronged my beloved, and, I believe, most virtuous QUEEN. This hand shall never be devoted to the propagation of either irreligious or seditious tenets; but neither shall the few feeble talents which Almighty God has bestowed upon me, be ever exercised in the cause of oppression and calumny. Those who have themselves suffered much by such means, know well how to respect the feelings, and to defend the innocence of others; but I trust I have learnt to distinguish between persons and principles, and have no wish to condemn indiscriminately all those who may not happen to think with me, even on this truly important question (if a question it may now be called) of her Majesty's innocence. It is a consideration that ought to stand apart from all abstract political principles—It is one of fact, and not of party—of truth, and not of speculation or expediency.

CHAPTER VIII.

WE have now arrived at the concluding chapter of the present volume. It shall be devoted to a detail of those events which took place, both in and out of Parliament, relative to the Queen's affairs

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to the first reading of that most baneful Bill of Pains and Penalties, which, if carried into a law, would have effectually crushed her Majesty, unless, indeed, the dreadful alternative of a bloody revolution had restored her to the honours and dignities, by which such an act would have ostensibly deprived her.

We have seen that her Majesty arrived in South Audley Street, on the evening of the 6th of June. Upon this his Majesty's ministers, faithful to their purpose, and, like true statesmen, resolved to keep their word when that word was a threat against a weaker power, the very next day presented messages from the King to both Houses of Parliament, communicating papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty, since her departure from the kingdom. These papers were sealed up, as is customary on occasion of such messages and papers, in a green bag.

His Majesty's message was in substance the same to both Houses of Parliament, and ran as follows:

"G. R.

"The King deems it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the Queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain papers relative to the conduct of her Majesty since her departure from this country, which his Majesty recommends to the immediate and serious attention of the House.

"The King has felt the most anxious desire to avert, by all the means in his power, a necessity as painful to the people as to his own feelings; but the step taken by the Queen leaves him no alternative.

"The King feels the utmost confidence in making this communication, that the House of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of his crown require."

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The royal message being handed to the Earl of Liverpool, by his Majesty's command, that noble lord laid on the table the papers referred to in that message. He said he intended to propose that his Majesty's most gracious message should be taken into consideration to-morrow, when he meant to move an address upon it. The terms of the address, he said, would be such as not to pledge their lordships to any thing further than to thank his Majesty for his communication, and to assure his Majesty that their lordships would adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of the crown should appear to require. He would then move to refer the papers he had laid on the table to a secret committee, having for its object to inquire whether any and what course of proceeding should be adopted. He then moved that his Majesty's most gracious message be taken into consideration to-morrow, and that their lordships be summoned for that day.

The House of Lords was exceedingly crowded during the above proceedings. The Duke of Clarence, Duke of Sussex, and Duke of Glocester, were present. Most of the ministers who had seats in the House were also present, and the opposition benches were full. The number of peers in attendance was uncommonly great.

In the House of Commons similar proceedings took place. On the delivering of his Majesty's message by Lord Castlereagh, his lordship gave

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notice that he should move, that the papers then presented be submitted to a secret committee.

Before, however, any debate was gone into, Mr. Bennet rose to inquire into the authenticity of the letters, &c. that had passed at St. Omer's, relative to the disgraceful proposal made by Lord Hutchinson to the Queen. Mr. Bennet urged an answer to his questions on this subject with much ardour and earnestness; and Lord Castlereagh, with a coolness quite equal to the inquirer's zeal, replied, that, "out of tenderness to Mr. Bennet, he should decline answering the question!"

Several members argued for the propriety of Mr. Bennet's question, and urged a reply. Amongst these were Mr. Creevey, and Sir Robert Wilson. The first of these gentlemen observed, that so convinced was he of the propriety of the question put with so much feeling by his honourable friend (Mr. Bennet), that had it not been put, it was his intention to have moved for the production of the papers connected with the late negotiation at St. Omer's. The Queen of England was to be prosecuted now, for what?—for having dared to set her foot in England. His Majesty had the same objection to be in the same country with his Queen, that he once had to be in the same drawing-room with her. We were now to have a prosecution founded on the result of an unsuccessful menace, and an unaccepted bribe; a bribe offered to the Queen of England to renounce her title. When his Majesty called upon the House, by his gracious message,

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to interest themselves in the consideration of the evidence which was placed in the bag before them; in a course which he thought the House would not be right in pursuing; he called upon them to pause, as the parties in a private prosecution—a prosecution in which the same person was the accuser, party, prosecutor, procurer of evidence, and might, in the end, as the third estate, in the event of a bill of attainder, be the judge. Since the time of Henry VIII. the English House of Commons had not been in the habit of thus interfering with the Queens of England. Let them beware how they ventured on such a course. Let that House not participate with a cabinet, whose fifteen members had, on a former night, left their duty there to arm against a single woman. Who was she? The daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, the niece of the late King, the relation and wife of his Majesty, and the mother of the lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales. Would any man believe, that had that lamented Princess lived, we should have ever heard of these proceedings?—would such a message as that communicated to-night have been ever made? There was not a single being who would believe it. He called upon them to pause before they put themselves in such a condition where every future step would involve them in greater difficulties. That was his honest and sincere conviction, and he should consider himself a disgraced person, if this being, he did not avow it.

Sir Robert Wilson said, there never was a [illegible]

sage as calculated to excite the most serious impressions as that communicated from the throne that evening. He trusted, however, that pending the prosecution, it would be felt a paramount duty to protect the Queen from any further indignity. He did not speak of those repeated indignities offered to her by official persons from this country abroad, or by foreign courts under our influence; neither did he speak of such an indignity as that of excluding her from the Liturgy; but he particularly adverted to indignities of such a character as the compelling the Queen of England, when she arrived at Calais, to sail in a common passage-boat, to hoist the standard of England in a hired conveyance. Was it no indignity that the Queen of England had no roof, no asylum, no house to which she could repair; but has been obliged to accept the roof of an honest individual? (This remark occasioned a laugh on the ministerial side of the House.) The laugh he did not understand, but he would repeat, an honest individual, who had discharged his various public duties with fidelity, with diligence, and with service to his country. Whatever course the advisers of the crown might pursue, he was disposed to believe that his Majesty would not approve of any indignity offered to her who was once the wife of his affections, and now the partner of his throne.

Lord A. Hamilton inveighed, in strong terms, against the omission of her Majesty's name from

the Liturgy, declaring, that he had a doubt whether the order in council to that effect was not the result of some art and intrigue, and whether advice had not been given to his Majesty upon that occasion, for which his ministers were afterwards not willing to be responsible. That order was sent beyond the jurisdiction of the privy-council; for it was sent to the General Assembly in Scotland, where, whatever might be its authority in this country, it was mere waste paper. In point of fact, many of the most respectable clergymen of that country had continued, in spite of the order, to pray for her Majesty; and a motion had actually been made in the General Assembly to condemn the order as an improper interference with the rights and privileges of Scotland, as settled by the union.

Messrs. Denman and Brougham both spoke in terms of considerable force on the treatment which her Majesty had met with. Mr. Brougham, in the course of his speech, expressed his surprise at the circumstance of the correspondence alluded to by Mr. Bennet having got into circulation, declaring himself ignorant of the manner in which the letters had obtained publicity.

Lord Castlereagh persevering in refusing all explanation as to the genuineness of Lord Hutchinson's letter, proceeded to move that the papers in the green bag be kept in the custody of the clerk the House.

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In the evening South Audley Street became the scene of the most tumultuous proceedings, in consequence of her Majesty's residence there.

During the day-time, the people congregated in that and the surrounding streets, calling out—"the Queen! the Queen for ever!" They also subjected all passengers, especially decently dressed persons, and particularly those in carriages, chaises, or on horseback, to submit to "mob-law." They were compelled to pull off their hats, to huzza for the Queen; and then they were frequently, by way of giving a little variety to the scene, pelted with mud, for the amusement of the rabble. But as darkness increased, on each of the evenings, the mobs became more mischievous and unruly.

In the course of the day, some printed placards had been partially posted about town, simply commanding to "illuminate for the Queen this evening!" Some few obeyed this injunction, as the securest mode, and others knew nothing about it. With the exception of some few cries of "lights, lights!" all remained tolerably quiet, except in South Audley Street; but at midnight, a band of about 100 persons issued forth from that street on the proposition to have lights exhibited, or to break the windows. Before they left the front of Alderman Wood's house, however, they began to carry the threat into execution, as the windows of the houses next door and next door but one, were very unceremoniously demolished. In Curzon Street, scarcely a house escaped; and at many of those

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houses, the fine large squares of the parlour and first-floor windows were entirely broken. The houses in Dover Street and Clarges Street shared a similiar fate. Several hundred houses were exposed to this outrage, which there was little opportunity of averting, as the occupants of many of them had retired to rest.

The mob proceeded along Piccadilly into St. James's Square. Lord Castlereagh's house was hooted and pelted, but a new direction was given to their fury by a solitary exclamation of "Carlton House! Carlton House!" in the propriety of an attack upon which, however, all seemed to agree. Thither they accordingly directed their steps; but their movements having become known, some preparations were made to receive them. In the interior of Carlton House, the riding-school, &c. there was an increased military guard, and a small civil force; and the whole were under the direction of Sir R. Baker, the chief magistrate of Bow Street office, who was in attendance, and remained so till after two o'clock on Thursday Morning. The mob, on arriving in front of Carlton House, and after expressions of disapprobation, assumed fresh daring, from experiencing no interruption, and they then made a rush en masse at one of the gates endeavouring to force it open. In this they failed, and they soon afterwards deemed it prudent to retire.

During these proceedings his Majesty gave the most positive commands, which were communicated to all persons of authority in attendance, that

but hostile steps were to be adopted towards this outrageous mob, but in the extreme case of absolute necessity. The amplest forbearance was of course observed.

A life-guard patrol paraded Pall Mall and Charing Cross during the night, but all remained quiet.

On Thursday night, June 8th, the mob again assembled in South Audley Street, in increased numbers, and evinced a still more daring disposition. As the evening closed, all the neighbouring streets became impassable, from one of the largest assemblages that ever thronged the metropolis. There were in the throng many decent people, who were attracted by curiosity, it having been circulated that her Majesty would show herself in the balcony. During the early part of the evening the mob confined their proceedings to cries of "Queen! Balcony! Balcony!" and compelling the persons in carriages, and those on foot, who passed, to pull off their hats and buzza, and afterwards pelting them with mud, as the reward of their forced compliance; but as they soon began to display a decidedly mischievous and outrageous character, the more respectable portion of the assemblage were seen very prudently withdrawing themselves, and the crowds were thereby greatly diminished.

Those that remained consisted of at least 3 or 4000. The cry of the previous night, of "Lights, lights!" was resumed; and even the houses immediately in the neighbourhood of Alderman Wood's

residence, notwithstanding that lights were exhibited as soon as possible, in obedience to the "mob-law," became the early objects of attack. Many of the windows which had been repaired during the day were again broken. The house in which the Misses Fitz-Clarence resided was furiously attacked; the door was thumped against, the railings were broken, and every square of glass in front of the house destroyed; no lights, however, were exhibited. Several other houses along the street were assailed in a similar manner; that of Mr. Maberly, M. P., at the corner of the street leading down to Grosvenor Square, had its windows broken for not illuminating. In Curzon Street and Clarges Street many windows were again broken, most of those demolished during Wednesday night having also been repaired.

Having gone thus far unmolested the preceding evening, the miscreants assumed more bold, audacious, and threatening tones; they cried out, "The ministers, the ministers!" This proposition was deliberately received with four regular rounds of huzzas; and the progress of their march was then particularized by several voices exclaiming, "Lord Sidmouth's, Lord Sidmouth's first!" Assent was given by another round of huzzas; and the mob hurried forward to Lord Sidmouth's residence, in Clifford Street, Bond Street, by Grosvenor Square and Brook Street.

On arriving in Clifford Street they did not seem accurately to know which was Lord Sidmouth's

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house; however, they commenced their operations on the house next door to it, inhabited by Mr. Mitford. As soon as the windows were demolished they found that they had only been attacking one of his lordship's neighbours; but as their mistake was soon made known, and all their forces having come up, an assault was commenced on the several windows of Lord Sidmouth's residence. The lower windows were entirely broken. The signal was then given to proceed to Lord Anglesea's, in Burlington Gardens; but just as they were about to depart, a party of eight or ten constables and officers, who had been stationed in lord Sidmouth's house, sallied forth, captured three or four of the ringleaders, and succeeded in bearing them off to the watch-house, in spite of some partial attempts at rescue, in which one of the watchmen was severely beaten and knocked about by the mob.

These captures, however, did not check their progress. They proceeded to the Marquis of Anglesea's. The windows here, as at Lord Sidmouth's house, suffered severly in the parlour and drawing-room: scarcely a whole pane of glass was left.

It was now about eleven o'clock, and it was determined to visit Lord Castlereagh's house once more, and then proceed into Pall Mall; but there being some vague cries of "The military, the military!" portions of the mob having heard of parties of the horse-guards being out, they faced about, and directed their steps northward, to go in pursuit

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of their friends who had been taken into custody. It was imagined that they had been taken to Marlborough Street police-office, and with this idea they proceeded in the direction to that office; but near Argyle Street a party of the life-guards came up with them, and they fled in all directions.

By this time, in consequence of the intelligence that had reached the police and government offices of the outrages that were taking place, parties of the police, aided by bands of constables and small troops of the horse-guards, were called out. About 250 of the horse-guards were out, divided into parties of ten and twenty each, and they traversed the west-end of the town in different directions, meeting each other at stated points, the officers receiving and giving information respecting what they observed. They thus proceeded backwards and forwards along Pall Mall, round St. James's Square, along St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Bond Street, and the neighbouring streets, occupying the line which had been the scene of outrage, and continued to be marked by the presence of small numbers of the dispersed mob. In and about Carlton House the amplest preparations were again made. About eleven o'clock the disconcerted parties attempted a partial rally in Pall Mall and St. James's Square, but these well-arranged and effective precautions disappointed them in every quarter.

Though all appeared and was tranquil at midnight in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly, St. James's Square, &c., at two o'clock the following

morning the same mob called on Portman Square, almost every house in which suffered from their violence, scarcely a window being left whole. At Mrs. Beaumont's, where there happened to be a party, they became most furious. Not only were the windows demolished, but the carriages in attendance were attacked, and much broken and injured. The mob also proceeded to the Marquis of Hertford's elegant mansion in Manchester Square, and although lights were immediately exhibited, the assailants exclaimed, "That will not do, smash the windows." They did so, broke into the hall, and left this house a complete wreck to their savage fury.

On the 8th her Majesty rose soon after five o'clock, and occupied several hours in writing. In the course of the morning numbers of tradesmen went into the mansion, with parcels for the Queen. About eleven o'clock several private individuals, in their carriages, began to arrive, and make inquiries. A servant attended in the hall with a book, and the inquirers severally put down their names.

Between eleven and twelve Mr. Alderman Wood waited upon her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, by the Queen's command, to express her Majesty's condolence on the lamented death of the Duke of Kent, and to inquire after the health of her Royal Highness and her royal infant.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman had an interview with her Majesty in the course of the morning.

and they remained in consultation upwards of two hours.

So early as ten o'clock a considerable crowd had assembled in front of the house, and before noon the whole street, for a great distance on each side the house, was so thronged, that it was with difficulty the carriages could pass through it. The crowd up to this time was composed chiefly of respectably dressed persons, a very large proportion of them females; but towards two o'clock it began to assume the same tumultuous complexion as on the preceding afternoon. The former cry of "Hats off!" was resumed as any coach, cart, or horseman passed, and the mud was very liberally applied to any person who was contumacious enough to remain covered whilst passing the house. The *operators*, however, in these doings were exclusively boys of from eight to twelve years old; but backed by the laughter of the by-standers, they became bolder every moment, and the laughter consequently became louder and more tumultuous; nor was it at all checked by the presence of a number of the Bow Street officers, who were in attendance on the steps of the house, and in front of it, throughout the day.

To add to the confusion, great numbers of idly curious persons called out at intervals "The Queen! the Queen!" with the hope of inducing her Majesty to show herself at the windows; but in this they were totally disappointed. This scene continued till nearly four o'clock, when Mr. H-

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derman Wood, appeared upon the balcony. He was instantly greeted with loud cheers, and silence having been at length obtained, he addresed the assembled crowd nearly as follows:—

"Fellow-Countrymen,—I have to address a few words to you on behalf of her Majesty.—You must all be aware, that after the fatiguing journey she has undergone, travelling almost night and day for so long a time, she has much need of repose. I am commanded, moreover, to express to you her Majesty's intention not to appear in public pending the discussion of her affairs. Her Majesty has learned, with deep regret, that some persons have been insulted in passing her present residence, and that windows have been broken by individuals affecting to be her friends. She trusts such illegal conduct will not be repeated; and I am commanded to say, that it is her express desire that you will, as good citizens, retire peaceably to your homes immediately."

The worthy alderman bowed, and withdrew amidst loud cheering, and immediately after the crowd began to disperse; but towards dusk a fresh and more extensive one had assembled, and the tumultuous scenes of the preceding evening were likely to be renewed.

On the 7th the Earl of Liverpool moved the order of the day for taking into consideration his Majesty's message. This having been read, his lordship moved an address of thanks for this "most gracious" communication. All communications

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from the crown are most gracious. The noble earl, in thus moving the answer to the King, said, that the course which ministers proposed to pursue, was one which would place the whole subject, relative to the charges to be preferred against the Queen, in the fullest and fairest train of investigation.

As a proof of the sincerity of his lordship's, and the rest of his Majesty's ministers', professions on this subject, he moved that a "*secret* committee" should be appointed, for the purpose of examining the papers presented to the House relating to her Majesty's conduct!

This announcement of a *secret* tribunal, as it was speedily called, was regarded by the Queen's friends in a very suspicious, not to say odious, light. The country had been not long before considerably disgusted with secret committees; and many augured, from the bare intimation of a closeted investigation, no good result of the proceedings about to be instituted against her Majesty's life and honour. I say against her life, because it had not then been made generally known that "a flaw" was to be discovered in the act of Edward which makes it high treason to violate the person of the King's consort. The flaw, or oversight, in that act appears to be this, that adultery committed with the Queen-Consort by a foreigner, in a foreign land, as such foreigner does not himself owe any allegiance to the English laws, so the Queen's submission to his illicit embraces does not amount either

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to the crime of high treason, or to any other crime known to the existing laws of the land.

Some persons very shrewdly observed, that if his Majesty's ministers had discovered this important feature of the act of Edward at the time they sent out Lord Hutchinson upon that famous bribe-and-threat-mission to St. Omer's, they did not discover "absolute wisdom" in thus threatening the highest subject of the realm with heavy legal punishments, who had, in fact, committed no punishable offence. The sober portion of their friends sighed—the Whigs sneered, and the *radicals* laughed out downright; on the same page on which they swore that all true liberty of speech and of writing was taken away from the people, they swore that the King's counsellors were no other than a set of knaves or of fools. There wanted not a few who thought them both.

On the subject of the proposed secret committee the Marquis of Lansdown, one of the most enlightened and honest peers of the day, said, that as far as the mere secrecy of the inquiry went, he had no objection, provided that could be done in conformity to that subsequent publicity which might be essential to enable the Queen to urge every thing in her defence. The noble marquis, however, contended, that the committee could not be considered, in this case, as a court of judicature, nor could the Queen be heard before it in her defence.

The Earl of Liverpool, in reply, declared, that if there had been evidence to convict the Queen of

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high treason, it would not have been proper to lay the case before the House of Commons; but the law officers of the crown should proceed according to the common practice of the law. Besides, his lordship had to say, that even if her Majesty had committed adultery with a foreigner abroad, she was guilty of no crime known to our laws; because, and his lordship had it from the highest legal authority, the act of Edward III. made it only high treason in a Queen or Princess of Wales to commit adultery with a person owing allegiance to the King!

This was a famous confession indeed! The honest sticklers for the old law, besides not a few who were not very staunch in their attachment to any law, except that of their own wills, did not fail to lay hold upon it. It was no sooner blazoned forth to the world, than a terrible outcry was raised against any proceedings of a penal nature whatever. The people of England had been too long accustomed to the old law of the land, which never punishes for non-recognised immoral actions, taking notice of those offences only for the prevention of which previous provision had been at least attempted, to regard any merely legislative proceeding against the Queen, even supposing her guilty, which few did, as at all comporting with the letter and the spirit of the constitution. Lord Liverpool, however, thought differently; for, asked his lordship, is this to be a case without remedy?

Lord Holland said, his objection was, that this

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course of proceeding would lead to a conclusion highly dissatisfactory to the public, and dishonourable to that House. Whether the measure to be adopted was to be by a bill of divorce or of pains and penalties, that might have been done by the noble earl by bringing down the bill without calling for any investigation. They ought to pause before they took any step on a case which the grand inquest of the nation (the House of Commons) was about to investigate. By instituting the proposed committee, they expressed an opinion that the matter to be submitted to them could not become a matter of judicial proceedings. The noble lord's law might be very good, but they could not know that the House of Commons, the great inquest of the nation, might not determine to proceed according to judicial proceedings. He regretted that, with the opinion which the people held of secret committees, such a proceeding should have been commenced. The sound of a green bag, and a secret committee, occasioned the most jealous feelings in the minds of the people, for they recollected the many unpopular laws which had proceeded from them.

The Lord-Chancellor Eldon said, a secret committee was intended to protect innocence. In fact, what were the grand juries of the country but secret committees. If the committee reported that a judicial proceeding should be had, he knew how to deal with it; if, on the contrary, it reported that a legislative proceeding should be adopted, then he

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know how to deal with that. It was the privilege of every subject of this country, whether high or low, to have an open and public trial; and in this case, if there must be a trial, God forbid it should not be public.

The Earl of Donoughmore agreed with the learned lord on the woolsack, that the proposed proceeding was interposing the shield of committees of both Houses of Parliament before the illustrious personage. The Queen-Consort of these realms should be not only free from stain, but from the imputation of blemish.

Lord Holland was far from thinking that no inquiry should be instituted in this case; but he thought that inquiry should be made by the grand inquest of the nation—the other House of Parliament; and they, who were the supreme court of judicature, should not come prejudiced to any judgment they might be called upon to decide. He did not think the proposed mode of proceeding more severe, or as severe, as many that might be adopted; but he protested against it as unconstitutional.

The Marquis of Lansdown agreed in every word of the explanation of his noble friend.

The motion was then agreed to, and the House adjourned.

No sooner were these proceedings made known to the Queen, than she lost no time in preparing a message to the House of Commons; previous to which her Majesty's friends declared that she re-

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now with the utmost confidence upon the support of that honourable House to defeat the machinations against her. This confidence she said she was certain would never be abused. "If any machinations," said she, "have been, or shall hereafter be, carried on against the Queen of England, they will most undoubtedly be defeated by the Commons of England. In this respect they will show the feelings, and act on the principles of our late revered Monarch, in whose countenance and protection she readily admits she always felt secure."

These, indeed, were not the Queen's own direct expressions. They proceeded, however, from the mouth of her legal friends and protectors. The message itself was as follows:—

"The Queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons, that she has been induced to return to England in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time by secret agents abroad, and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course, her Majesty has had no other purpose whatsoever but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered Monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

"Upon her arrival, the Queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to Parliament, requiring its attention to written documents; and she learns with still greater astonishment that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a secret committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses

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against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the realm. In the face of the Sovereign, the Parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents, privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the laws of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies with full confidence upon the integrity of the House of Commons for defeating the only attempt she has any reason to fear.

"The Queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been insulted in a manner too well calculated to prejudice her case. The omission of her name in the Liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer of an application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight, both of the English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence—must be viewed as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction.

"C. R."

Had I any wish to hand down to posterity the disgrace of Parliament—to perpetuate the dishonour of my country, I would record every syllable of what took place in both Houses after the receipt of this nobly-spirited message. I would give every word of those cutting and shuffling wranglings, called debates, in which the most ill-natured things were said in the most good-natured manner, and which ended only in an almost constant series of adjournments. The unwillingness of Parliament to proceed in this disgraceful measure was obvious enough: few disputed the reluctance of ministers to press this affair to the last extremity; and fewer still were inclined to charge her Majesty's friends generally with a desire to have the country exposed

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to the anxious affairs which they were told would ascend from the indecent green bags, should they be once opened.

After her Majesty's message had been read, Lord Castlereagh, with his usual grace and elegance, rose to call the attention of the House to his Majesty's message. His lordship was overwhelmed with the "extreme delicacy of this most painful of public questions." He spoke with great feeling in behalf of his Majesty's ministers, who were all of them overwhelmed with the same "extreme delicacy." His lordship appeared quite shocked that any idea should be entertained by the Queen that her accusers had "come down to Parliament in the spirit of persecution or of prosecution;" a distinction this, certainly, of great moment: but as some dreadful blow had been threatened by ministers, through the medium of their agent, Lord Hutchinson, and as the only means of averting that awful calamity were said to be her Majesty's voluntary disgrace and dethronement, it was perfectly natural that the Queen and her friends should have some very strong suspicions that "ministers had come down to the House" in a spirit very much bordering on that of *prosecution*, if not of persecution; and, to speak the truth, five-and-twenty years' experience had given her Majesty some reason to fear that *persecution* was the end in view, by whatever means it might be prosecuted. At all events the Queen courted investigation, and that of the most public manner possible. She had not

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filled the green bags—she had not devised the disgrace that was so shortly to be brought upon the country by his Majesty's ministers; she had, therefore, nothing to dread from the threatened "disclosures," provided full justice were done her.

After some desultory wrangling about what had been done, what ought and what ought not to have been done, and what might be done in future, on the motion of that good man Mr. Wilberforce, the debate was adjourned to the following Friday. On that day, after another of those curious exhibitions of debating, in which much was said, but nothing done, the debate was further adjourned to the 12th.

In the mean time the Queen left the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, and took up her residence under the humble but hospitable roof of her lady in waiting, Lady Anne Hamilton, in Portman Street, Portman Square.

On the 12th Lord Liverpool in the house of Lords, and Lord Castlereagh in the Commons, stated that certain communications were going on between her Majesty's and his Majesty's ministers, which rendered it desirable that the sitting of the secret committee in the one House, and its appointment in the other, should be suspended and postponed. It was accordingly agreed, that the question in the Commons should be adjourned to Friday, and in the Lords to Saturday.

One portion of those communications was a message from the Queen, in which her Majesty stated, that in compliance with the advice of her counsel,

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and of several members in the House of Commons, she thought it proper to inform Lord Liverpool, that she was ready to receive any proposition that was consistent with her honour, which his lordship might be disposed to make on the part of his Majesty's government.

This condescending message was, I believe, wrung from the Queen by the earnest entreaties of her legal and other advisers. Every body, however, seemed to rejoice at the prospect of something like a compromise of this sad affair. I mean, of course, every one except the inveterate radicals, whose prospects of a disturbance in the country were threatened with a blight by the least glimpse of an amicable adjustment of the affair.

The motion for a secret committee in the House of Lords was carried by a majority of 79, and the following peers were ballotted to form that committee:

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Lord Chancellor.
The Lord President (Harrowby).
The Duke of Beaufort.
The Duke of Northumberland.
The Marquis of Lansdown.
The Marquis of Buckingham.
The Earl of Liverpool.
The Earl of Beauchamp.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth.
The Bishop of London.
Lord Redesdale.
Lord Erskine, and
The Earl of Lauderdale.

These were the fourteen noble peers chosen, but

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Lord Erskine and the Marquis of Lansdown refused to take any active part in that secret investigation.

The same day on which Lord Liverpool received the last message from the Queen, his lordship sent the following reply:

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the Queen's communication of this day, and begs leave to acquaint her Majesty that a memorandum, delivered by Lord Liverpool to Mr. Brougham on the 15th of April last, contains the propositions which Lord Liverpool was commanded by the King to communicate through Mr. Brougham to her Majesty.

"Her Majesty has not been advised to return any answer to those propositions, but Lord Liverpool assures her Majesty that the King's servants will still think it their duty, notwithstanding all that has passed, to receive for consideration any suggestions which her Majesty or her advisers may have to offer upon those propositions.

"*Fife House, June* 9, 1820."

The memorandum to which his lordship alludes in this note was as follows:

"The act of the 54th George III. cap. 160, recognised the separation of the Prince Regent from the Princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the Princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late Majesty, and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her until it shall please his Majesty to recommend to Parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

"The King is willing to recommend to Parliament to enable his Majesty to settle an annuity of 50,000*l.* a year upon the Queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of Queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of Queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice.

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upon the visitation of these engagements, viz. upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of Queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of Queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her.

"Upon her consent to an engagement in the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself; and at the same time a full authority to conclude, with such person as his Majesty may appoint, a formal engagement upon those principles.

"*April* 15, 1820."

To this communication the Queen thus replied:

"The Queen commands Mr. Brougham to inform Lord Liverpool, that she has received his letter, and that the memorandum of April 15, 1820, which the proposition made through Lord Hutchinson had appeared to supersede, has also been now submitted to her Majesty for the first time.

"Her Majesty does not consider the terms there specified as at all according with the condition upon which she informed Lord Liverpool yesterday that she would entertain a proposal, namely, that it should be consistent with her dignity and honour. At the same time she is willing to acquit those who made this proposal, of intending any thing offensive to her Majesty; and Lord Liverpool's letter indicates a disposition to receive any suggestions which she may offer.

"Her Majesty retains the same desire which she commanded Mr. Brougham yesterday to express, of submitting her own wishes to the authority of Parliament, now so decisively interposed. Still acting upon the same principle, she now commands Mr. Brougham to add, that she feels it necessary, before making any further proposal, to have it understood, that the recognition of her rank and privileges as Queen, must be the basis of any arrangement which can be made. The moment that basis is established, her Majesty will be ready to suggest a method by which the considerations still existing differences may be satisfactorily adjusted.

"*June* 10, 1820."

In the course of the debate in House of Commons, it appeared that her Majesty's legal advisers

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had not communicated the ignominious memorandum to the Queen till the time she mentioned, which was after the receipt of Lord Liverpool's reply to her message. This and her Majesty's last note occasioned the following from Lord Liverpool:

"Lord Liverpool has had the honour of receiving the Queen's communication, and cannot refrain from expressing the extreme surprise of the King's servants that the memorandum of April the 15th, the only proposition to her Majesty which ever was authorized by his Majesty, should not have been submitted to her Majesty until yesterday.

"That memorandum contains so full a communication of the intentions and views of the King's government with respect to the Queen, as to have entitled his Majesty's servants to an equally frank, full, and candid explanation on the part of her Majesty's advisers.

"The memorandum of the 15th of April, while it proposed that her Majesty should abstain from the exercise of the rights and privileges of Queen with certain exceptions, did not call upon her Majesty to renounce any of them.

"Whatever appertains to her Majesty by law, as Queen, must continue to appertain to her so long as it is not abrogated by law.

"The King's servants in expressing their readiness to receive the suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, which her Majesty's advisers promise, think it right, in order to save time, distinctly to state that any propotition which they could feel it to be consistent with their duty to recommend to his Majesty, must have for its basis her Majesty's residence abroad.

"*June* 11, 1820."

To which her Majesty returned the following:

"The Queen commands Mr. Brougham to acknowledge having received Lord Liverpool's note of last night, and to inform his lordship that her Majesty takes it for granted that the memorandum of April the 15th, was not submitted to her before Saturday, only because her legal advisers had no opportunity of seeing her Majesty until Lord Hutchinson was on the spot prepared to treat with her.

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"Her Majesty commands Mr. Brougham to state, that as the basis of her recognition as Queen is admitted by the King's government, and as his Majesty's servants express their readiness to receive any suggestion for a satisfactory adjustment, her Majesty, still acting upon the same principles which have always guided her conduct, will now point out a method by which it appears to her that the object in contemplation may be obtained.

"Her Majesty's dignity and honour being secured, she regards all other matters as of comparatively little importance, and is willing to leave every thing to the decision of any person or persons, of high station and character, whom both parties may concur in naming, and who shall have authority to prescribe the particulars as to residence, patronage, and income, subject of course to the approbation of Parliament.

"*June* 12, 1820."

Whilst these negotiations were carrying on, the people were not inactive. On the 14th the common council of London voted the following address to the Queen; and it was presented on the 16th in due form and ceremony, although the then lord-mayor (Bridges) was not very favourably disposed towards the Queen's cause:—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The dutiful and loyal Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in common council assembled.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, his Majesty's ever dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach your Majesty with sincere expressions of loyalty, attachment, and regard.

"We condole with your Majesty on the various afflictions your Majesty has sustained since your departure from this country, by the loss of so many illustrious personages of your Majesty's family, especially by the demise of our late beloved Sovereign, your Majesty's paternal guardian, whose countenance and support under

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the most trying circumstances gave the best pledge to the nation of your Majesty's innocence, and the firmest protection against all your enemies; and also that of your amiable and illustrious daughter, the Princess Charlotte, the fond hope of Britain, whose memory will be ever dear to an affectionate people.

"Deeply attached to the royal family, and anxious for the preservation of the public tranquillity, we feel ourselves called upon to express our earnest hope that the differences which unfortunately subsist may be arranged in a manner honourable to your Majesty, as well as to your Royal Consort, and satisfactorily to the country; and that should an investigation of these differences be still unhappily resorted to, recognising the dignified firmness which your Majesty has manifested, by the solemn protest you have entered against all secret investigation of your conduct, so repugnant to common justice, and to the feelings of Englishmen, we trust such investigation will be conducted in an open and impartial manner, and terminated in the complete vindication of your Majesty's honour.

"We rely upon your Majesty's gracious acceptance of this address, as a proof of the loyalty and affection of your faithful citizens of London, and of their attachment to the illustrious House of Brunswick, which, they trust, will long continue to sway the British sceptre, and maintain the liberties and happiness of the people.

"Signed, by order of the court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:

"I return you my heartfelt thanks for this dutiful address, which is both loyal to the King and affectionate to me. If any thing could lessen the grief which I must still feel for the loss of those dear relations of whom I have been deprived since I left England, it would be the proofs I now receive upon my return that their memories are cherished as their virtues deserved.

"In the new trials to which I am exposed, my first duty is to vindicate myself, and my next wish is to see nothing attempted that may hurt the feelings of others.

"But in all the troubles through which I have passed, there-

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nerous attachment of the English people has been my safeguard against the King's enemies and my own, and be well assured that no time can ever weaken the grateful impressions of such obligations."

The deputation then passed two and two before her Majesty, and in so doing they received her acknowledgments individually. The shouts from the crowds in the street now became very vehement, and her Majesty advanced to the window, which being opened, she leaned forward and bowed. She was received with reiterated cheers; but as those persons only immediately in front of the house could obtain a sight of her, much struggling and confusion ensued. Alderman Wood, however, brought the hearth-rug, and laid it upon the bars which floored the little balcony, and her Majesty immediately stepped forward and bowed most gracefully on all sides, amidst the most enthusiastic cheers, the waving of innumerable handkerchiefs, &c. Her Majesty wore a dress of rich peach-blossom satin, with a hat of the same material, surmounted by a plume of white ostrich feathers, springing from an aigrette of brilliants. She also wore a superb diamond broach, in form of the plume and coronet of the Princess of Wales. After having bowed repeatedly, her Majesty retired, and the corporation immediately withdrew—the Aldermen Wood, Thorp, and Waithman, and Mr. Sheriff Parkins, being drawn by the populace. It is but right to say that this exhibition did not take place without very considerable resistance on the part of the worthy aldermen.

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The second conference between ministers and her Majesty's law officers was held at the Foreign Office on the 16th, and the following was the result:—

The King's servants began the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report with fidelity to the King's government the proposition brought forward by her Majesty's law officers, that the Queen's name should be expressly included in the Liturgy, in order to protect her Majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her Majesty might consent to reside abroad; that they were not deceived, for reasons already sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question, for the first time, on the part of her Majesty, more especially in the present advanced state of the proceedings; that they were authorized distinctly to state, that the King's servants could on no account advise his Majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance; and that to prevent misconception, the King's government had charged the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh to explain that they must equally decline to advise the King to depart from the principle already laid down by his Majesty for the direction of his representatives abroad, with regard to the public reception by the King's ministers abroad, and introduction of her Majesty at foreign courts; but that they were not only ready but desirous to guard in future, by renewed orders,

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against any possible want of attention to her Majesty's comfort and convenience by his Majesty's ministers abroad; and, that wherever her Majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her Majesty, from that state, the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the King actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the ministers abroad now acted were communicated to the Queen's law officers, and their attention was directed as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his Majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that branch of the instructions which were studiously framed to provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the Queen when Princess of Wales.

The Queen's law officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her Majesty to establish her court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English minister, because reasons of state might render it inexpedient that, under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made; but they wished that her Majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English ministers where no such reasons of state interfered; and they inquired whether the same objection would

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exist to the public introduction of her Majesty at some one court where she might fix her residence, if she waved the claim of introduction at foreign courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was, in fact, the same whether at one or more courts; and, that if the King could be consistently advised to meet the Queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for his Majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding.

The Queen's law officers, referring to the decision of the judges in George the First's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the royal prerogative, were the King even to prescribe where her Majesty should reside, but to order her there to be treated as Queen by his ministers.

The King's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the Queen had arrived in England, and the pain her Majesty must experience were she exposed to leave England in the like manner. They acquainted her Majesty's law officers that they could venture to assure them that this difficulty would not occur. The Queen arrived in England contrary to the King's wishes and representations; but were her Majesty now to desire to pass to the Continent, whether to a port in the Channel, or if it should more accord with her Majesty's views to proceed at once to the

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Mediterranean, a king's yacht in the one instance, or a ship of war in the other, might be ordered to convey her Majesty.

After receiving these explanations, the Queen's law officers recurred to the points before touched upon, viz. the inserting the Queen's name in the Liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent, and intimated their conviction that her Majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of these objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency. They then asked whether a residence in one of the royal palaces would be secured to her Majesty while in this country; and observed, that her Majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington Palace until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late Duke of Kent. It was replied, that the King's servants had no instructions on this point. They, however, observed, that they believed the apartments which her Majesty formerly occupied, when Princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the Duchess of Kent; and that they considered that this point had been already disposed of, by supplying to her Majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish her Majesty a suitable residence.

Her Majesty's law officers then inquired when they supposing an arrangement made, the mode of winding up the transaction and withdrawing the information referred to Parliament had been considered, and whether the King's servants now

any objection in the present instance to the Houses of Parliament expressing, by suitable addresses, both to the King and Queen, their grateful thanks for their Majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement by which Parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding. The King's servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed that, upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday, to which day it should be proposed that the proceedings on the King's message in the House of Commons should be adjourned on a distinct explanation to this effect, and that a conference should take place on the following day, in order to bring the business to a conclusion, and to arrange by mutual consent the protocols of conference.

In consequence of the pending negotiation, the sitting of the committee of the House of Lords was postponed; as the Earl of Liverpool, on the 16th, moved in the House of Lords, to discharge the order of the day for the sitting of the secret committee to investigate the papers laid upon the table by command of the King. His lordship said, that in postponing the meeting of the secret committee, he conceived he had only to state that the same considerations which induced the House to consent to former adjournments still existed. He, there-

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fore, now trusted that the motion would be acceded to. This was accordingly the case.

Proceedings of a similar nature to these took place in the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh moved that the further consideration of his Majesty's message should be postponed till the 19th.

On the following day the negociators met at the Foreign Office, and the conference was opened by her Majesty's law officers intimating, that, adverting to what had passed on the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose, but to proceed to the adjustment of the protocol.

The King's servants then stated, that, before they entered into this business of arranging the protocol, they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them on the part of his Majesty's government; they then declared, that they were authorized to inform the Queen's law officers, that, in the event of her Majesty's going to the Continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her Majesty, either to a port in the channel, or to a port in the Mediterranean, as her Majesty might prefer.

That every personal attention and respect would be paid by the King's servants abroad to her Majesty, and every endeavour made by them to protect her Majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether in her travels or residing on the Continent —with the understood reserve, however, of public

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reception by the King's ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign courts.

It was further stated by the King's servants, that having weighed the suggestion communicated by the Queen's law officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms in which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded) to a proposition being made to both Houses, for expressing, by address to the Queen as well as to the King, their grateful acknowledgments for the facilities which their Majesties might have respectively afforded towards the accomplishment of an arrangement by which Parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her Majesty's law officers of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the protocols.

Before, however, the protocol was discussed, the King's servants desired distinctly to know from her Majesty's law officers, whether the introduction of the Queen's name in the Liturgy, and her Majesty's introduction at foreign courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the Queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, or an equivalent which would have the effect of protecting her Majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her Majesty might

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be liable in leaving the country under the circumstances in which her Majesty was placed, was a *sine qua non*. The Queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any arrangement which was not satisfactory to her Majesty's own feelings, however her Majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of Parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her Majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward.

As Monday the 19th was fixed by Parliament for proceeding on the important question of the King's message, on the failure of the negotiation, it was therefore necessary that the utmost expedition should be used by the negotiators; accordingly they met on the Sunday at Lord Castlereagh's, in St. James's Square, and the following is the protocol of the conference.

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the protocols, it was suggested, on the part of the King's servants, if possible to meet the Queen's wishes, and in order the better to assure to her Majesty every suitable respect and attention within the particular state in which she might think fit to establish her residence, (the Milanese or the Roman States having been previously suggested by her Majesty's law officers, as the alternative within her Majesty's contemplation,) that the King would cause official notification to be made of her Ma-

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King, or as Prince Regent in the exercise of the royal authority, that the court held by her late Majesty was in fact the court of the Prince Regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late Majesty, and that the present Queen, then Princess of Wales, was excluded from such court.

Early on the 10th, the negotiators again met at the Foreign Office, and the fifth and last protocol was signed by the respective parties.

The protocols of the preceding conferences were read and agreed upon.

Her Majesty's law officers stated, that the proposition of the preceding day had been submitted to her Majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her Majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expression used on mentioning their belief that her Majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, viz. "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby, the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her Majesty holding a court, and the understood sense of Parliament, that her Majesty's residence in this country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her Majesty's name, against being understood to propose or to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the King, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

MEMORANDUM.—The second and third points

as enumerated for discussion in the protocol of the first conference were not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place upon the points brought forward by her Majesty's law officers.

The five protocols were then respectively signed "Wellington, Castlereagh, H. Brougham, T. Denman."

Before we proceed to notice the further proceedings in Parliament on this point, it will be proper, first to glance at certain complaints made about this time in the House of Commons by Dr. Lushington, on behalf of her Majesty, relative to a service of plate which the late King, it seems, had lent or given to the Queen whilst Princess of Wales, and residing in Kensington Palace.

The simple facts of the case, as stated by Dr. Lushington, are as follow:—

In the year 1803 his late Majesty was pleased to order a service of plate to be made for the Princess of Wales, her present Majesty. The plate was made according to her own taste, and agreeably to her own directions; it was presented to her for her own use: the order came through the lord-chamberlain, and the articles were paid for by the King. From that time till the year 1814, when her Majesty left this country, she enjoyed the use of this plate without any question being raised as to her right. On quitting Kensington Palace, in 1814, when her Majesty went to the Continent, she delivered the plate over to

Mr. Mash, of the chamberlain's office, with an understanding and entire belief, on the part of that if even she should return to this country she would have a right to the use of it. On her return to England she found herself without one of those articles of comfort and convenience which ought to have been provided for her; she found herself in a situation unprecedented for a Queen of England, and he would venture to say, that such a preparation had never before been made for the reception of an individual of her rank. In this situation, destitute of every article necessary to her comfort, without even a place of residence provided for her, she made application to Mr. Mash for the restoration of this plate; but to this application his answer was, that he was not authorized to deliver it up without an order from the lord-chamberlain. The lord-chamberlain was accordingly applied to in her Majesty's name, and the following answer was received:—

"The Lord Chamberlain avails himself of the earliest occasion to say, that the note which he had the honour of receiving from Lady Anne Hamilton has been laid before his Majesty. It being thought that the plate in question is royal property, his Majesty is not pleased to order its removal from the Jewel Office, where it is deposited."

This refusal to restore the plate in question left her Majesty destitute of every thing in the shape of household utensils. Dr. Lushington declared that she possessed nothing at that moment that was not hired. But he hoped he should be spared the necessity of going into any further detail respecting the domes-

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tic concerns of the royal family, intimating, that to use a vulgar saying, the least said on these matters the best. The learned doctor concluded his speech by moving, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House copies of all official papers relative to a service of plate presented to her Majesty the Queen by his late Majesty, in the year 1809, and used by her Majesty the Queen till beneath parture from this country in the year 1814."

One would have thought, that a motion of this nature could not well have been objected to. It was perfectly natural to suppose, that an inquiry into the real state of the case, by having the official papers relative to this matter laid before the House, would have been the most effectual mode of showing the business in its true light. But, no; my Lord Castlereagh thought otherwise; and in the course of his speech his lordship, it must be admitted, gave a tolerably satisfactory explanation of the matter.

After some extremely querulous observations about the inflammatory nature of Dr. Lushington's speech, his gross ignorance of the true state of the case, and many strong animadversions on the wicked intentions, as his lordship called them, of her Majesty's friends, to inflame the public mind, his lordship at length came to the real question at issue; and then he stated that the greatest part of this service of plate was old plate, belonging to

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King William, which had been converted to the Queen's use; and so little was it anticipated that she should use it as her own property, that a formal list had been made out of the articles in the books of the Lord Chamberlain, of which the following was the title:—"A list of his Majesty's plate in loan to the Princess of Wales while residing at Kensington Palace." This list was in existence at the time when the plate was reclaimed; and if her Majesty used it elsewhere than in Kensington Palace, she exercised a discretion which was not warranted. As the learned gentleman had been pleased to make assertions, he (Lord Castlereagh) was at liberty to make counter assertions, and would say, with regard to this plate, that the Princess of Wales not being satisfied with it, Lord Aylesford went to the King and explained this circumstance, afraid that he might have given offence; and the King then stated that he had no more control over that plate than he had over the crown lands. From this fact a judgment might be formed of the sort of advice her Majesty had received from her counsel: he could only judge of the counsel from its fruits, and very pretty fruits it had produced on the present occasion. He held in his hand a copy of the official letter on which this grave proceeding before Parliament was founded; and he thought that the reading of it would decide the fate of this the learned gentleman's first legal effort in this cause. The learned gentleman had recently asked leave to attend at

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the bar of the House of Lords, as one of her Majesty's counsel, and he could not help hoping that his professional exertions there would prove more successful than they were likely to be on the present occasion. The letter was from Lady Anne Hamilton, and addressed to the Lord-Chamberlain, in the following terms:—"The Queen desires the Lord-Chamberlain to deliver her plate, given to her by his late Majesty, to the bearer, John Hieronimus, her chamberlain." He would here observe, that the Lord-Chamberlain's answer, which had been read by the learned gentleman, stating that his Majesty had not given any orders for the removal of the plate from the Jewel Office, was so far from being a harsh answer, that it was positively the only one he could give. He again complained of the learned gentleman, because he either did not understand the question, or had neglected to give it that diligence which became a man of business. When her Majesty was about to visit the Continent in 1814, she desired her servants to take a more authoritative step than that which Lady Anne Hamilton had taken under her instructions, for she had actually ordered them to pack up this plate, with the intention of taking it with her: it was actually packed up for that purpose, and if the Lord-Chancellor had not sent a note on the subject to Mr. Mash, it would have gone out of the country; and if it had gone out of the country, he (Lord Castlereagh) did not know —perhaps the learned gentleman could inform him

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—by what process it could have been brought back. This, however, was not the only step taken by her Majesty; for from Geneva she had written a letter by Sir. W. Gell to a Mr. Cooper, ordering him to take the necessary measures to procure her plate from the Lord-Chamberlain, as at that time she was particularly desirous of having it.

His lordship having given this explanation, again relaxed into a very angry mood, and seemed to repent that he had condescended to give any explanation at all; for, in having done so, he "confessed that he had been provoked to forget his duty; and a minister could not be guilty of a greater neglect of it than by entering so much into a detail of circumstances that ought to be left to the conduct of the Crown itself, and which were never intended to be made the subject of parliamentary inquiry."

After some further very ill-tempered debates, on both sides, Dr. Lushington's motion was put, and negatived without a division; and so her Majesty was left *plateless* as before.

This discussion, however, very shortly brought before the public view a most extraordinary circumstance which, for a time, excited great indignation in the minds of the people. In all public questions and commotions there are to be found some one or two persons, heretofore of small note in the country, who start up to cut a figure by taking a prominent part in the affairs at issue. This matter of the Queen's called forth many; but on

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this particular question, about the royal plate, a person of the name of Pearson, a young attorney of Bishopsgate Street, rendered himself very conspicuous. This young man was a great orator—very bold and very active. He had great shrewdness of speech and manner, was full of anecdote, and, having been, "born of religious parents," as the phrase is, his father having been a member, or "an outward-court worshipper," of the Wesleyan Methodists, he had acquired a very happy "knack at quoting Scripture," employing the fine figures of the Oriental style to illustrate his multifarious arguments. Mr. Pearson, moreover, was a mighty *radical* in his day, and showed great and "commanding talents" when certain Manchester magistrates, in the year 1819, had, somewhat too hastily, taken upon themselves to put down the public meetings of Mr. Hunt and his friends at that town; in doing which one or two persons were killed, and many wounded. Already thus known to the public, Mr. Charles Pearson discovered that the proprietor of the *Courier* evening newspaper—a journal which, from having been a rank democrat, had long been as rank an aristocrat, and then most ably supported ministers before all men, at all times, in all places, and on all subjects, thereby putting in a sort of claim to political catholicism—had been honoured by the gift of this very service of plate, as a reward, it was supposed, for the numerous literary and other supports he had given to ministers! This was a terrible development of a terrible fact, and called forth the

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loudest expressions of indignation and disgust; but this did not last long, for the favoured proprietor in question flatly denied the fact of such a present having been made to him, and roundly charged Mr. Pearson with downright falsehood: an insult which no patriot could bear; so he, Mr. Pearson, explained the matter as well as he was able; and, in the end, it turned out that some plate, with the royal armorial bearings, had been seen in the possession of the said newspaper proprietor, though it does not appear to have been the identical old plate "belonging to King William!"

Here this matter rested; but the public, who warmly espoused the Queen's cause, were determined that an attempt, at least, should be made to provide a service of plate for her by their own voluntary contributions. Accordingly a general subscription, of not more than one shilling each person, was set on foot throughout the kingdom; and, in a short time, an immense sum was collected. The death of the Queen rendering the application of this money unnecessary, the matter stopt for a long time, until some of the subscribers began to inquire concerning what was intended to be done with the funds; and much evil surmising was indulged. When this sheet was put to press, (Jan. 1822,) nothing had been determined upon; but it was supposed that the funds would be applied towards the erection of a monument to the memory of her late Majesty.

And now the time was rapidly approaching when the "fatal green bag" must be opened, or be for

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ever closed. In the House of Lords the proceedings were of a very singular and curious nature. Adjournment after adjournment took place, till at last the secret committee brought up their Report, recommending an immediate public investigation of the whole matter. It is not my business to state all that was said for and against this question in that or the other House. It will be proper, however, to lay before the reader the most important feature of the proceedings in the Commons, which was that of Mr. Wilberforce's motion for a message to the Queen, requesting her to forego some of her claims, to prevent the "fatal disclosures" that were to overwhelm the country with one impetuous torrent of vice and immorality.

Previous to this Mr. Canning, after having passed the highest encomiums on the character of the Queen, gave public notice that he would entirely abstain from taking any active part in the further prosecution of this business. That gentleman was as good as his word, for he actually left the country during the business of the "Queen's trial," as it was called.

The House of Commons actually refused to open the green bag at all, and passed a solemn vote, by a large majority, that, "whatever might be the ultimate result of these proceedings, it could not but be distressing to her Majesty's feelings, *disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.*"

Such being the state of the case, it was natural

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to wish to avert so heavy a calamity. With this view, for I am unwilling to attribute any other motive to such a man, Mr. Wilberforce prepared his famous message to the Queen. The words just quoted, it will be seen, formed part of this abortive address, or message, or whatever else it might be called.

Without going through all the arguments and debates used on this occasion, it will be sufficient to give the resolutions themselves, and the manner in which they were carried into effect. The deputation from the House consisted of Mr. Wilberforce, Sir T. Ackland, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. S. Wortley, who went to Portman Street in their full court dresses.

It having been publicly understood that this famous deputation, which had been appointed on the 23d, would go up on the Saturday about mid-day, public curiosity was strongly excited to know the result; and accordingly a great assemblage was collected round the residence of her Majesty. The crowd began to assemble at an early hour. By one o'clock an immense multitude had assembled. The whole of Portman Street was filled, from the square to Oxford Street; and noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, ladies in open carriages, and persons of all ages and descriptions on foot, were confusedly mingled together. The windows and balconies were filled with spectators of all ages and ranks. Many persons of distinction, and elegantly dressed females, were observed amongst

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theirs, and it would be difficult to conceive a more interesting and enlivening scene than that which Portman Street exhibited immediately before the arrival of the deputation, and during its stay. The only symptom of discontented feeling which manifested itself was on the arrival of the deputation, about a quarter past one o'clock. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Wortley occupied the first carriage. As soon as they made their appearance, strong feelings of displeasure were indicated by hissing, hooting, and groaning, which continued as the carriages of Sir. T. Ackland and Mr. Bankes drove up to the door. All the four members alighted without any interruption. They were dressed in full court costume, and showed a proper insensibility to the uncourteous manner in which they were greeted by the multitude, who vociferated "No address!" The carriages of the honourable members passed on towards the adjoining square, and the crowd continued in patient expectation for the result of the interview. About three quarters of an hour intervened between the entrance and the departure of the deputation. When they were introduced to her Majesty, she was standing in the drawing-room, attended by Lady A. Hamilton, and having on her right Mr. Brougham, and on her left Mr. Denman, both in their full-bottomed wigs and gowns, as if at court. The folding doors were then thrown open, and the four deputies of the House of Commons, in full court dresses, entered, and were severally presented to her Majesty

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by Mr. Brougham, who informed her Majesty of the places for which they were members. They severally knelt and kissed her Majesty's hand. Mr. Wilberforce read the following resolutions, by command of the House:—

"Jovis 22, die Junii, 1820.

Resolved—That this House has learned, with unfeigned and deep regret, that the late endeavours to frame an arrangement which might avert the necessity of a public inquiry into the information laid before the two Houses of Parliament have not led to that amicable adjustment of the existing differences in the royal family which was so anxiously desired by Parliament and the nation.

"That this House, fully sensible of the objections which the Queen might justly feel to taking upon herself the relinquishment of any points in which she might have conceived her own dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling the inestimable importance of an amicable and final adjustment of the present unhappy differences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that when such large advances have been made towards that object, her Majesty, by yielding to the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons, and forbearing to press further the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference of opinion yet remains, would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her Majesty has been graciously pleased to express, to submit her own wishes to the authority of Parliament; thereby entitling herself to the grateful acknowledgments of the House of Commons, and sparing this House the painful necessity of those public discussions, which, whatever might be their ultimate result, could not but be distressing to her Majesty's feelings—disappointing to the hopes of Parliament—derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the empire.

"Ordered—That these resolutions be laid before her Majesty.

"Ordered—That Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir T. Acland, and Mr. Banks, do attend her Majesty with the said resolutions.

"J. DYSON."

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Her Majesty delivered to Mr. Brougham the following answer, which he read by her Majesty's command, and delivered it to Mr. Wilberforce:—

"I am bound to receive with gratitude, every attempt on the part of the House of Commons, to interpose its high mediation, for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the royal family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can declare that an entire reconcilement of those differences, effected by the authority of Parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and dignity of all the parties, is still the object nearest to my heart.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions. It shows the House of Commons to be the faithful representatives of that generous people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct.—But I trust to their candour and their sense of honour, confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.

"It would ill become me to question the power of Parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised.—But however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority, the question, whether I will make myself a party to any measure proposed, must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone.

"As a subject of the state, I shall bow with deference, and, if possible, without murmur, to every act of the sovereign authority. But, as an accused and injured Queen, I owe it to the King, to myself, and to all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

The members of the deputation then made their obeisance and retired. As their carriages were called for, and as they entered them, they were saluted in the same unceremonious manner as when they arrived. Mr. Brougham accompanied the

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deputation to the door, and soon afterwards left the house in company with Mr. Denman.—As the carriage of the learned gentlemen was called, and as they entered it, they were loudly cheered by the multitude, who expressed a desire to take their horses away and to drag them home. This testimony of popular applause Mr. Brougham resisted, and the mob, with some appearance of disappointment, yielded to his wishes. They, however, asked, if her Majesty had agreed to the surrender of her rights, and were, it is believed, answered in the negative. When the deputation and her Majesty's law officers had left Portman Street, the multitude, which still continued assembled, began a loud huzzaing and clapping of hands, and calls of "The Queen! the Queen!" inviting her Majesty to appear and receive their applause. Her Majesty, obeying the call, appeared on the balcony, and was received with the liveliest enthusiasm. Shouts of "Long live the Queen!—God bless you!" continued for several minutes. Her Majesty was dressed in a robe of black satin richly embroidered, and wore on her head a bandeau of laurel leaves, studded with emeralds, and surmounted with a superb plume of feathers. The crowd continued in front of her Majesty's residence during the afternoon, and by repeated shouts evinced an enthusiastic feeling in her favour. The report was spread that she had rejected the overtures for any compromise inconsistent with her dignity as Queen, and this seemed to add fervour

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to the affectionate cheers of the people. The same animated scene continued till long after dusk.

On Wednesday, the 28th of June, the secret committee of the Lords met, and proceeded to open the *green bag*. Her Majesty's counsel, Messrs. Brougham and Denman, attended, and put in a sealed letter, expressing the sentiments of their royal client upon the extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings which had then been commenced against her. The learned gentlemen remained in waiting a considerable time, in order to receive an answer to a letter delivered on the part of the Queen; but none being returned by the committee, her Majesty's counsel withdrew.

The committee first met in Lord Shaftesbury's private room, and after remaining there a short time, they went to the robing-room, and finally chose the old House of Lords as the most commodious apartment, and the farthest removed from interruption. The gentleman usher of the black rod and other officers of the House were stationed in various parts, and suffered no person to approach the committee-room, while a number of constables were in attendance in other directions.

Lords Lansdown and Erskine were excused from the committee at their own request, and Lords Hardwicke and Ellenborough attended in their room.

In the mean time the people were not idle or indifferent to the interests of their Queen, whose honour, if not even her very life, were now placed in

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the utmost jeopardy. All hopes of a compromise or a reconciliation were at an end; and there did not a day pass in which numerous addresses of condolence and congratulation did not come in from all quarters; and answers were given to them, in many instances, it must be confessed, couched in language apparently bordering on that spirit of *radicalism* with which the country had been for months inundated.

Her Majesty removed to Brandenburgh House, near Hammersmith, and there took up her constant residence till some palace, or other place, should be allotted to her by government, of which there did not appear to be any very near prospect.

The debates, speeches, remonstrances, protests, messages, and petitions, with which the peers were harassed and pestered, had no effect. With a daring pertinacity which will astonish posterity, these royal and noble personages persisted in a determination to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties to degrade and dethrone her Majesty, in the prospect, it was thought, of ultimately banishing her, for ever, from the country.

Several lords, however, on various pretences and excuses, were permitted to retire from the field; and it is with singular satisfaction that the country witnessed the determination of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, on account of the extreme delicacy of his situation between the two illustrious personages—the King and Queen—not to take any active steps in the business. His Royal Highness

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obtained leave entirely to absent himself from the House during the proceedings; and when those disgraceful proceedings had terminated, by the failure of the Bill, and the consequent acquittal of the Queen, that excellent and patriotic Prince visited his illustrious and triumphant sister-in-law, to the joy of the whole nation, and to his own immortal honour.

Not so the two other brothers of the King who were at that time in this country—the Dukes of York and Clarence. These Princes chose to brave the fury of the popular indignation, and to risk the favourable opinion of every honourable and good man in the kingdom, rather than refuse to sit in judgment on their Queen when she was charged with the heinous sin of adultery—a crime which those two chaste and virtuous dukes had taken so great a dislike to, that they thought themselves perfectly justified in sitting both as judges and as jurors when their own sister-in-law and cousin was to be dragged before them to be tried for having committed it. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was particularly "mad against her." His virtuous mind could not bear the idea of so bad an example being suffered to go without punishment. He himself knew the evil effects of it, and how much the virtuous part of the community had been scandalized when, in the hey-day of his blood, as it was said, he had taken to himself the wife of another man, who afterwards pined away, and died in wretchedness and poverty in America.—Yes, it showed

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marks of sincere contrition in his Royal Highness, after what he had done towards poor Mrs. Jordan, *the actress*,—by whom he had "sons and daughters," and then left her, like her husband, to die unprotected in a foreign land, where, for a time, she was actually refused Christian burial,—to set his face against any thing in the shape of "an adulterous intercourse!"*

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* The proceedings against the Queen had not been long terminated when the following advertisement appeared in the public journals of the day, circulated by the regular court newsman, and given with all the formality of such dignified proceedings:—

"MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE.—The Right Hon. William Hay Carr, Earl of Errol, Hereditary Lord High Constable and Knight Mareschal of Scotland, was on Monday married to *Miss Eliza Fitzclarence*, third daughter of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence and of *Mrs. Jordan*. The ceremony was performed at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence gave the bride away, and the service was read by the Rev. Mr. Fanshaw, the tutor of the noble bridegroom. The following royal and distinguished personages were present on the happy occasion:—

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence; her Royal Highness the *Duchess of Clarence*, attended by her *ladies*, the Countesses of Mayo and Westmeath; the Earl and Countess of Glasgow, and the *Ladies* Boyle; Earl and Countess of Morton; the Earl of Mayo; Viscount and *Viscountess* Melville; Lord and *Lady* James Hay; the *Misses Fitzclarence; Colonel* and *Captain Fitzclarence;* and several other persons of *distinction!*

"His Royal Highness the *Duke of York* was expected, but *sent an apology*, being out of town. The ceremony being performed, the nuptial party proceeded to the residence of the Duke of Clarence, St. James's Palace, where twenty-eight persons sat down to breakfast, at which they were joined by her Royal Highness the *Princess Sophia*, sister of the royal duke. At half-past twelve o'clock the bride and bridegroom left London in the noble earl's new chariot. *The bride's dress was presented to her by their Royal Highnesses the Princesses;* it was one of the handsomest ever seen in materials and taste. Her *ladyship* changed it after breakfast at the palace, for her travelling dress. The presents to the bride were magnificent, particularly that *from her Majesty the Queen of Wurtemberg!*"

Oh! the *disloyal*, the indecent, the cruel sneers, and jibes, and jokes, that were made on this singular advertisement! And

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Such also was the contrite feeling of his Royal Highness the Duke of York! He also could not bear the idea of an adulterous intercourse! His Royal Highness remembered the sad things that a few years before had been said about a Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke and himself; and he was determined that he would for ever show his abhorrence of the want of chastity in one of royal blood. He had become a great friend to the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, who stood charged in that Bill with an offence which he then so greatly loathed. *A few* others of the Queen's *judges* and *jurors* were in a similar predicament; and they showed great magnanimity of soul, in thus bearing witness against adulterers and adulteresses! But there, nevertheless, lacked not persons who were uncharitable enough not to give these royal and noble dukes and lords credit for the purity of their motives.

In the mean time her Majesty the Queen used every means within her power to obtain justice by messages and even *petitions* to the Lords to adopt a more equitable and public mode of proceeding against her. She begged that at least a list of the

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what cutting remarks were made by the *radicals* about the honour and the constituency, and the character of royalty! What sacrilegious and profane jests were made upon the clergy! What wanton sport with the feelings and *delicacy* of the *Princesses*, and the *Countesses*, and the *Viscountesses*, and all the other *ladies*, not forgetting the Bonapartean *Queen* of Wurtemberg! "Oh!" as Cobbett would have said, "this 'marriage in high life,' after the moral protest against adultery by the royal duke, is a perfect God-send—nuts and, apples to us radicals!" And so it was; but at the time I am now speaking of "*high life*" could not make a single movement, however *consistent* or virtuous, that was not ridiculed by the *radicals*.

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witnesses to be brought against her, might be furnished to her counsel; but this was flatly refused her.' She asked further, that the specific charges in the indictment might be laid before her; but this could not be granted; for Lord Liverpool, who brought in the bill, on, as his lordship afterwards confessed, his own responsibility, for the sake of the morals of the nation, said, that no "specific act" of adultery was intended to be adduced against her. She next asked for a specification of the times and places where the alleged crimes had been committed; but neither could this be granted!

At length, goaded almost to desperation, her Majesty addressed the following

TO THE KING.

"Sir,

"After the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your Majesty, and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting, it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your Majesty. But, bearing in mind that royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your Majesty, in the hope that the justice which your Majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppres-

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sion and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

"A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your Majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your Majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your Majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

"Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your Majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

"The 'tranquil and comfortable society' tendered to me by your Majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your Majesty's inclinations; more especially when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

"But, alas! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your Majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and rewarded, to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your Majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

"In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George III. and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have

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made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind. What then was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place, and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector?

"Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal; conduct which has since undergone, even in Parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in the minutes of the privy-council; notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal; notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against me before it; notwithstanding that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence; notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies, even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered, that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it *not legally criminal!* And thus, at the suggestion and request of your Majesty, had been created, to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as *my* indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

"Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and sovereign remained in the

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exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-lamented father was held over me, I was safe. But the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous King, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings, and to ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and to your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprung the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

"When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed, if calumniators, revilers, and traitors had not abounded. Your court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, bacchanalian talebearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those palaces which had been before the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the Regency to that of my departure for the Continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be inflicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, bro-

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father, and father-in-law, and having my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, but of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled I had one consolation left; the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms, to mingle my tears with her's; to receive her endearing caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-decaying love: thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed me. Even on the slave-mart the cries of "Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!" have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealer, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

"Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of imbittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas! were never to come. To mothers, and those mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters, it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear of sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your Majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

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"Let the world pass its judgment on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her: let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise: but on the measures which have been adopted to give final effect to those preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak: it is for me to remonstrate with your Majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprize you of my determination.

"I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of *a law*. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

"The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the illegal acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the *constitution of the court itself* that I particularly object, and against that I most solemnly protest.

"Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the Queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your Majesty is the *plaintiff*. Here it is intended by the Bill to do what you deem *good to you*, and to do *me great harm*. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

"You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this House written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the House have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the House, merely upon that report, have brought forward a Bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

"The injustice of putting forth this Bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations, is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a deter-

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mination to do me wrong, had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

"Your Majesty's ministers have *advised* this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to *punishment* if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my *judges*, but it is they who have *brought in the Bill;* and it is too notorious that they have *always a majority* in the House; so that without any other, here is ample proof that the House will decide in favour of the Bill, and, of course, against me.

"But, further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your Majesty is the *plaintiff;* to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate peers. Many of the present peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater number of the peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty; and these of course, your Majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than *four-fifths* of the peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

"If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the Bill, some of those peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your Majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

"To regard such a body as a *court of justice* would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

"In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your Majesty's ministers is the same in both Houses; and your Majesty is well acquainted with the fact,

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that a majority of this House is composed of persons placed in it by the peers and by your Majesty's treasury.

"It really gives me pain to state these things to your Majesty; and, if it gives your Majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the judges and jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

"On these grounds I protest against this species of trial. I demand a trial in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and free. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a *court of justice*.

"I have now frankly laid before your Majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is liable. Instead of loving, honouring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than perjured witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your Majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child: but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed) CAROLINE, R.

"*Brandenburgh House, Aug.* 7, 1820."

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It cannot, it must not, be denied, that there are expressions in this letter by no means calculated to bring over to her interest her Majesty's enemies and prosecutors. It is evidently the production of a mind greatly irritated and inflamed, but it as manifestly betrays a strong conviction of conscious innocence; for surely no guilty person, during the pending of a trial, would so speak of the judges and jury who had appointed themselves to try the cause!

To use the language of the law, however, her Majesty "took nothing by her motion." The proceedings went on with the same force as if no attempt had been made by the accused to abate their severity, or change their mode of proceeding.

It was thought by a great majority of the nation, that if the "Trial," as it was called, must go on at all, an impeachment by the Commons, instead of an *ex post facto* law, would have been more equitable; and many able arguments were adduced to prove this, but all to no effect: the Queen's enemies were inexorable: nothing but some prompt legislative measure, would, they said, answer the justice of the case. And, in truth, there were some plausible reasons in this. It was admitted on all hands, that, as the law then stood, the Queen had violated no part of the constitution whatever, and could not, according to any existing statute of the realm, suffer any punishment, even were it all true that was alleged against

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her. A law, therefore, (as in the case of Jonathan Wild, whose iniquities had grown to such a pitch that he must, *by some means or other,* be got out of the way,) must be made to degrade and dethrone her! Indeed, the degradation had already commenced.

It has been more than once shown what insults, what opprobium, and what cruel oppressions were heaped upon this accused, and untried lady, as well before as subsequent to her arrival in England. It was not till pressed to the last extremity, and when no other mode of expression could, with the least show of decency, be adopted, that ministers, whilst speaking of her in Parliament, would call her "*Queen.*" "An illustrious personage"—"a lady"—or any other epithet but that by which she could be properly designated, was adopted, till they were compelled, by the paucity of language, to resort to the legitimate phraseology when speaking of royalty.

The erasure of her Majesty's name from the Liturgy was also a part of the degradation which she was compelled to suffer even before trial. In fact, almost every thing of this kind of punishment had been inflicted before a single legal or legislative step was taken to justify the business. An *ex post facto* law, therefore, appeared to be as needful to the justification of the accusers as to the condemnation of the accused; and it mattered little what means were to be adopted to effect her

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Engraved by A. Page from a Drawing by G. Phillips.

H. BROUGHAM, ESQR. M.P.

Her Majesty's Attorney General.

Published by J. Harris & [illegible]

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final ruin, seeing that, if possible, her destruction, as Queen, was determined upon, whatever might be the result of any proceedings against her.

All Europe, however, cried out against the iniquity of these proceedings; and there was scarcely an honest and good man in the nation who did not feel himself scandalized by so cruel a measure.

It must be confessed, nevertheless, that a considerable show of liberality was made by ministers, by *saying* they would allow to the Queen every facility of legal talents and pecuniary aid for her defence. As to the first of these advantages, they could not well be denied her. She had chosen, from amongst the gentlemen of the long robe, men of known public talents, of profound legal knowledge, and established worth—men who felt not merely as lawyers, but as honest men, and as loyal subjects. A brief sketch of the characters of her Majesty's counsel will neither be uninteresting nor inappropriate in this place.

HENRY BROUGHAM, Esq. F. R. S. M. P. had long been the legal adviser of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and was now, as has already been observed, raised to the honour of *the Queen's Attorney-General.*

This gentleman is, I believe, a native of Westmoreland, and is the descendant of an ancient and highly respectable family, of Brougham Castle, in that county. I have no means of tracing Mr. Brougham's early life, nor is it necessary. It is sufficient to say that he has often

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distinguished himself, both in and out of Parliament, as an orator, a statesman, and a lawyer of no mean talent. In the late Parliament he was member for Camelford, and in the present one (1820) he represents Winchelsea; for his seat, therefore, in Parliament, Mr. Brougham is somewhat indebted to his Whig patrons, of whose party he has ever been a most steady and efficient advocate.

In the year 1812, Mr. Brougham was the rival candidate of Mr. George Canning for the representation of Liverpool, and had numerous highly respectable friends and supporters; but he lost his election. At the close of the poll, however, the two candidates immediately approached each other on the hustings, and publicly shook hands in the most cordial manner; showing that though *gentlemen* differ, they do not always quarrel, even at a contested election.

On two occasions Mr. Brougham made attempts to obtain a seat for his native county; but the Lowther interest has, on both occasions, outweighed his talents and independant principles. On the last occasion, however, Mr. Brougham gained very considerably on his adversary, if one may be allowed to call such a man as my Lord Lowther any man's *adversary*. Mr. Brougham's friends are extremely sanguine in their hopes of ultimate success in that county. There are, however, some very serious obstacles in Mr. Brougham's way in this instance. The interest and influence of the Earl of Lonsdale, and his son, Lord Lowther, in this county, are of a paramount nature: the Whigs

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are too weak here—for, happily, the county of Westmoreland has hitherto, in a great measure, escaped the contagion of *radicalism*—to afford Mr. Brougham any very flattering prospects of immediate success. Besides, were the *radicals* at all strong here, Mr. Brougham would not have their support, inasmuch as that party is as strongly opposed to the Whigs as to the Tories.

Mr. Brougham, however, was nevertheless highly respected in his native county, even by many of those who opposed him on political or interested grounds; and what he falls short of in attempting to represent them in Parliament is amply made up to him in his practice on the northern circuit as a barrister. Perhaps, upon the whole, substantial fees may be quite as good, and as lasting, as unsubstantial parliamentary honours. It was said, but I am persuaded, without foundation, that Mr. Brougham, at the first election, absolutely solicited Lord Lowther's support.

On an occasion in which there appeared likely to be a vacancy for the city of Westminster, and when some persons had hopes that Sir Francis Burdett's influence was on the wane, Mr. Brougham, it was said, had some thoughts of offering himself; but it did not appear that he took any active steps for that purpose.

Mr. Brougham was at one time much connected with the Edinburgh Review, a publication of great notoriety and sale; but I believe, that, for a season

at least, he suspended his labours on that work, and that for a reason not very creditable to the Edinburgh publisher, who, should he happen to peruse this volume, and will turn to the name of the author in the title, will not need any further hint on that subject. Whether Mr. Brougham ever resumed his labours on the Edinburgh Review after the publication of the 21st volume, I know not.

In addition to some papers in Nicholson's Journal, and the Philosophical Transactions, Mr. Brougham is the author of an "Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers," 2 vols. 8vo.—and of a celebrated pamphlet "On the State of the Nation," which went through numerous editions, and was greatly extolled by the Whigs. There have also been published of Mr. Brougham's, besides his speech on the Queen's trial, "A Speech in the House of Commons on the State of Commerce and Manufactures," 1812; and a "Speech to his Friends assembled at Liverpool," in the same year.

Mr. Brougham's exertions relative to the celebrated orders in council, issued in January, 1807, against trading with enemies of Great Britain, procured him great fame. Through those exertions that anti-commercial order was rescinded.

Mr. Brougham's popularity was also greatly enhanced by his opposition to the leather tax, and by his praise-worthy exertions respecting the state of

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education and the public charitable foundations of the country. The part he has taken in the proceedings on the obnoxious Bill of Pains and Penalties has raised his character to the highest pitch of respect and popular esteem, both as a lawyer, an intrepid advocate, and a sound constitutional and statesman.

In private life Mr. Brougham is universally esteemed. He has long been known to the author of this work, who has no hesitation in saying, that a more modest, unassuming, yet intelligent and benevolent man, does not exist; but Mr. Brougham needs no private panegyric to establish his fame, either in his public or his more retired walks of life. The disgraceful part which his *quondam* friend, the Earl of Lauderdale, took against the Queen, must have given Mr. Brougham no small pain, whilst it excited in him the greatest astonishment.*

THOMAS DENMAN, Esq. M. P. her Majesty's Solicitor-General, has been long known and

* On an occasion which occurred after the death of the Queen, when a public subscription was raised throughout the country to indemnify the gallant Sir Robert Wilson, for the loss he had sustained in having been suddenly deprived of his rank in the army, Mr. Brougham manifested his unabated attachment to the memory of his beloved Queen, by sending to the Committee the sum of 25*l.* under his own name, to be published to all the world, on that occasion; when a public meeting was proposed to be holden at the City of London Tavern; but Mr. Brougham, somewhat incoherently, I must confess, alleged as a reason for not attending that meeting, his being one of the late Queen's counsel! That consideration, however, did not deter Dr. Lushington from attending; so that many persons began to entertain some fears respecting Mr. Brougham!

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respected at the bar, as an able and successful barrister; but his talents were not particularly known to the public till the year 1817, when he was retained by the friends of Brandreth and others, who were tried at the Derby assizes for high treason; and although it proved impossible for either Mr. Denman or any other lawyer to rebut the strong proofs of guilt adduced against these daring and desperate offenders, he gained considerable applause and credit for the ingenuity of the defence he set up, and the powerful manner in which he enforced his arguments.

Soon after these trials he was elected, by the reformers, to represent the town of Nottingham in Parliament; and at a subsequent contest for that town he was again elected. His able and energetic exertions in behalf of his injured Queen can be appreciated by those only who heard, or those who have read, the proceedings on the "Trial" in the House of Lords.

Mr. Denman has frequently been retained by Sir Francis Burdett as the worthy baronet's legal advocate. The *radicals*, however, do not greatly admire him; but for what reason it would be difficult to discover.

Another of her Majesty's counsel was Dr. LUSHINGTON, a proctor in Doctors' Commons of great and deserved practice, and member of Parliament for Canterbury. He, as well as Mr. Denman, is warmly attached to the Whig party in politics;

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and during the trial of the Queen was of the most essential use to her cause. His motion in the House of Commons relative to a service of plate for the Queen has already been stated.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq. was another counsel in this great cause. He has not been much known at the bar; but his great talents, especially at cross-examination, have secured for him a very high reputation.

THOMAS WILDE, Esq. another of the Queen's counsel, is a barrister of young standing, but had been long known in the courts of law as a solicitor of the most respectable and successful practice. Mr Wilde is a person of the most amiable and benevolent disposition, and of exemplary morals in private life; but even those virtues are not superior to his rigid uprightness as a lawyer—his great experience in his profession—profound legal acumen, and a most clear and discriminating judgment—qualities which, united to the best of hearts, but seldom meet in so powerful a manner in members of his profession. I believe it may with safety be said, that Mr. Wilde, during the whole of his practice as an attorney, never undertook the defence of a cause, or the complaint of a client, of the justice and morality of which he was not at the time, in his own mind, perfectly convinced. Hence it very seldom happened that a cause fell in the hands and under the direction of Messrs. Wilde and Knight, which was the name of

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the first. The same upright line of practice was afterwards adopted by Mr. Wilde's successors,—Knight and Freeman. Mr. Wilde has a brother also at the bar, and is now, I believe, in a high official situation at Sidney, or Port Jackson, in New South Wales; and another brother, in London, pursuing, in the most respectable manner, the profession of the law as a solicitor.

Mr. Wilde's great and indefatigable attention to business subjects him to frequent most violent attacks of head-ache; but no affliction of that kind ever prevents him from pursuing the objects of his investigation, or from performing any duty he has once undertaken to accomplish.

As a man of business, and a sound and acute lawyer, her Majesty could not have made choice of a more efficient barrister than Mr. Thomas Wilde. In politics Mr. Wilde has taken no part; but his feelings and his view, both of that science, and of religion, lead him to the side of liberality, truth, and justice.

N. C. TINDAL, Esq. was also called in to assist in this great cause; and it is but justice to say that his services proved to be of a commanding and valuable kind. Of the particulars of Mr. T.'s life and practice I have not been able to collect any certain information.

Such was the powerful array of legal talent retained by the Queen to defend her against the greatest and most intricate conspiracy that was

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ever got up to destroy an individual. Nor had they to cope with men of mean powers, or of ordinary station in the profession.

The King's Attorney-General, SIR ROBERT GIFFORD, the Solicitor-General, SIR JOHN S. COPLEY, and the rest of the counsel for the Bill, had long been distinguished as lawyers of great talent and practice but having a miserable cause to support, it was not to be wondered that they should not succeed in making out such a case as would warrant the Queen's prosecutors in sending the Bill to the other House, where there was every prospect of its being thrown out by a large majority; for that House had already expressed its abhorrence of the measure altogether.

Lord Liverpool, therefore, acted wisely when, on the motion "That the Bill do now pass," he rose, and moved its further consideration to that day six months; by which, according to the usage of Parliament, the Bill would be lost, and, of course, the Queen, to all intents and purposes, acquitted of every thing laid to her charge in that Bill.

His lordship's motion, however, was not carried without opposition. There were *noble* lords who were mad enough to wish that matters might be carried to the utmost extremity, even at the hazard of the peace of the whole empire.

This opposition to Lord Liverpool's motion for finally dismissing the Bill was happily confined to

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a few hot-headed persons, who felt their pride mortified, to find that all their labours to dethrone the Queen were likely to prove abortive. His lordship's motion, however, was carried without a division, to the unbounded joy of the whole nation, with the exception of two classes only: the few really disaffected radicals, and those ultra-tories, who could form no idea of loyalty that would not go all lengths to carry a favourite point, right or wrong.

In the mean time, business in general was nearly at a stand: and almost every honest and industrious tradesman had reason to regret the Bill of Pains and Penalties, as productive of more mischief to the internal trade of the country than any good that could possibly have resulted to the nation from its success, however guilty the queen might really have been.

The number of addresses that every week crowded the street, going in grand procession to condole with the Queen on her recent losses in the death of so many of her family during her residence abroad, and of congratulation on her return to this country; and, again, on her signal triumph over her enemies, was beyond all precedent; and it invariably happened that, however foul the weather might be the day before and the day after the "going up" with a grand procession, the days appointed to receive addresses were unusually fine and pleasant; the streets were therefore thronged to excess.

The public events that succeeded the bringing in

of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and the withdrawal of it by the peers, form ample materials for a volume nearly as large as the present one.*

But let us conclude this portion of Queen Caroline's eventful history, by a hasty review of those great events that to the time already treated of, distinguished her life; and marked it out as more prolific in materials for the future historian of England than that of any other Queen-consort that ever shared the throne of these realms.

This ill-fated lady had not been married to the Prince more than one month ere she had reason to regret and bitterly to repent that such an event had taken place. The Prince, her husband, almost immediately after her marriage, discovered his dislike to, and the bias of his inclination against, his betrothed and wedded wife.

In about twelve months after that melancholy event, an actual separation took place. The Prince literally "put her away," though she had then but just brought him a child, who might have lived to have succeeded him on the throne.

But a very few years had elapsed when a most dreadful plot was got up to take away her life, and blast her honour for ever. Perjuries of the foulest character were committed to effect this nefarious purpose. Yet when those perjuries were

* It was originally my intention to have embodied into this Volume the substance of the Queen's Trial; but the very great extent of those proceedings have rendered that object totally unattainable. I have therefore published the Trial complete in three Volumes.

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detected, and the plot they were made to support was blown into "empty air," the wretches who had committed them were suffered to escape with no other punishment than the execration of mankind, and the miseries of a guilty conscience! Nay, it was said, that they were even cherished and countenanced by the Prince of Wales in a manner that reflected not the least honour on his character.

Investigation after investigation into the Princess's conduct took place; but, with every additional inquiry, her Royal Highness acquired additional claims to the love, the esteem, and the protection of the British people, whilst her persecutors and slanderers sunk lower and lower in the scale of public estimation, till at length they became "a by-word and a reproach" in the mouth of almost every decent man in the kingdom.

One set of "investigators" cleared her of all guilt, but accused her of impropriety. A second and more numerous host, a few years afterwards, proclaimed her guiltless of every thing to which the slightest criminality could attach itself; but, for political reasons, and to please the Prince Regent, their master, they *advised* a restricted intercourse between the Princess and her daughter, who warmly espoused her mother's cause, and was then arrived at an age when no small share of influence attached to her character and connections.

The then Queen thought proper to take a great dislike to the insulted and injured Princess of

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Her late Majesty

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

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Wales, and did not fail to manifest that dislike whenever an opportunity presented itself. In return, the nation most heartily disliked her, and the people were not backward to express their opinion of her Majesty's conduct towards her daughter-in-law by every species of opprobrium and disgust that lay in their power safely to display.

The most indecent and disloyal hissings, hootings, and groanings were heard whenever she made her appearance in public, whilst the caricature shops were filled with whatever could express contempt for her person, or disapprobation of her public conduct. Her Majesty certainly merited a more becoming behaviour; her private virtues were of no mean cast; and her marked displeasure at any female who might venture to approach her court, whose conduct would not bear a rigid examination, reflected the highest honour on her principles and her heart. But nothing could fully compensate for the prejudice she was known to entertain against the Princess of Wales.

HER LATE MAJESTY QUEEN CHARLOTTE was born on the 16th of May, O. S. (May 19) 1744, and died at Kew Palace, at one o'clock on the 17th of November, 1818, regretted for her virtues, but remembered with pain for the real or supposed neglect she had shown towards her illustrious grand-daughter, and not less for her conduct towards the mother of that amiable Princess. May her errors and mistakes be forgotten, and the example of her conjugal affection and constancy,

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and the general uprightness and integrity of her behaviour, both in public and in private, be the model of future Queens!

She was succeeded by a Queen, who, had she been allowed the same scope for the display of her numerous virtues of both head and heart as was permitted to her predecessor, would, I am fully persuaded, have set even a brighter example, because a more patrotic, and certainly a more enlightened Princess than ever sat upon the throne of England since the days of Elizabeth or of Anne.

The late King, however, when convinced of the perfect innocence of his beloved daughter-in-law, failed not again to receive her at court, nor to support her by his royal countenance; but he, alas! was long alienated from his faithful subjects, by an affliction worse than death itself: he became dead to the concerns of his people, and the affairs of the state; and with his abstraction from the world, the last hopes of protection from oppression quitted the bosom of the Princess of Wales. The elevation of the Prince, her husband, to the Regency, was the prelude to her further persecution and suffering. Those who had formerly professed friendship for her, and to commiserate her misfortunes—who had defended her with their tongues and their pens, whilst out of power, were now become her most inflexible foes; for they were then to live in the smiles of her husband, or perish beneath his frown. The King, whose favour was best secured by duty and respect shown towards the Princess, had now

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lost all his power.—and he on whom the sovereign authority had devolved would not receive with complacency those who could smile upon one to whom his "inclinations" were so extremely averse: hence these political vicars of Bray instantly began to discover the foulest blots in the Princess's character. The star of Brunswick was to suffer a total eclipse; but, like the transit of Venus over the Sun's disk, the obscuration was perceived only by those who were previously assured that the event would take place, and who watched for its appearance. To ordinary observers, the sun shone with a splendour not less bright than before, nor would one man in ten thousand have known that any eclipse had taken place if the initiated had not given publication to the fact.

Zeal, however, was not wanting, on the part of the enemies of this excellent woman, to cast her for ever into the shade, and to banish her from the observation of the respectable part of mankind. That their wicked efforts did not succeed, was not owing to any deficiency of intention, nor any want of inclination on their part. But when a whole nation wills that a minister shall abandon a wicked project, he must abandon it;—compelled to submission by no other weapon than that of the public opinon, loudly, plainly, legally, and perseveringly expressed.

We live under the best of all possible constitutions.—Here we have nothing truly despotic or arbitrary. The King has really less personal

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liberty than the meanest of his subjects who conducts himself in society with honesty and propriety. The aristocracy may bluster for a day, but the power of the state is vested originally and essentially in the people: nor when ministers are convinced that the general voice is against their measures, do they seldom persist in opposition to that voice. But acts of treason tend to exasperate, and to produce new measures of harshness and oppression; whilst every thing gives way, sooner or later, to the constitutional appeals of the people. And there cannot be a doubt but the time is fast approaching, when internal quiet and prosperity—happiness and domestic comfort—plenty, the fruit of patient industry—and solid peace, the reward of true virtue, shall again visit our beloved island. Then will the clamours of disaffection be no more heard—the cries of mourning and complaint cease in our streets—and the genuine principles of loyalty to the Sovereign, manifest themselves amongst all ranks, by obedience to the laws, and an invariable adherence to the divine maxims of our holy religion.

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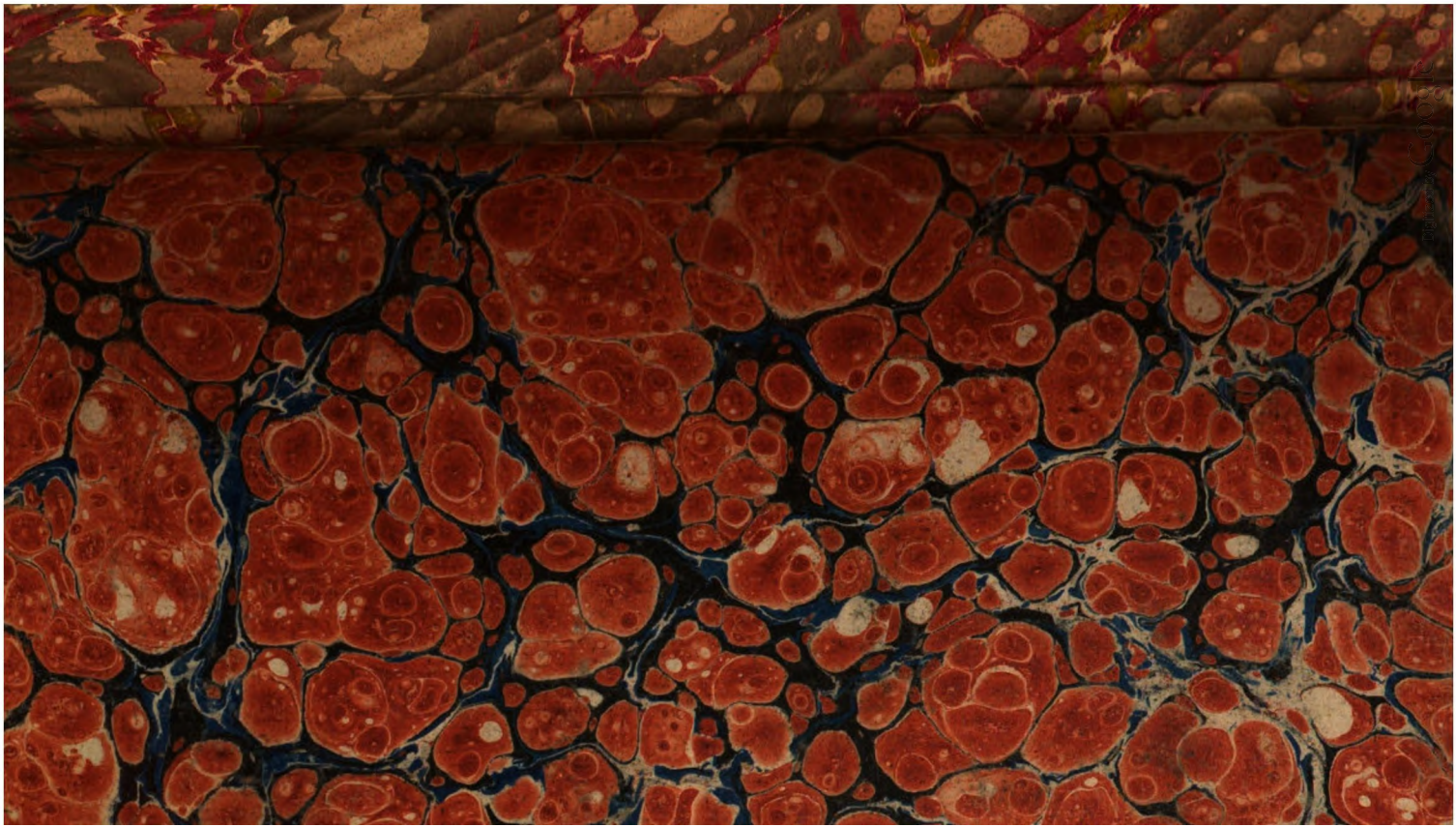
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